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The Role of Guilt, Shame, and Self-Compassion in Promoting Racial Justice Engagement for White Students

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Biography

The author grew up in Charleston, South Carolina. She graduated from the Academic Magnet High School in 2003 and received her Bachelor of Arts in Comparative American Studies and English from Oberlin College in 2007. She worked for Outward Bound's Florida At-Risk Programs as a wilderness instructor and course director from 2008 to 2011, and is currently a student in the Clinical-Community Psychology Doctoral Program at DePaul University.

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Abstract

Diversity courses and activities are a part of the multicultural mission of many institutions of higher education. However, universities, colleges, and diversity educators continue to grapple with how to increase participation and student engagement in these courses. The lens of privilege studies provides an important perspective for thinking about how to achieve this goal for White students learning about systems of racial inequity. In the current study, we conducted four studies to better understand how to decrease resistance to reflecting on White privilege (e.g., defensive affect or withdrawal) and to promote racial justice engagement (e.g., willingness to take diversity courses and educate friends about White privilege) among White students. Specifically, Study 1 examined the relationships between White guilt, White shame, and racial justice engagement (i.e., behavioral intentions, racial attitudes, and affective responses) when participants were not first presented with information about White privilege. Study 2 examined the relationship between White privilege awareness, White guilt and White shame, and racial justice engagement (i.e., behavioral intentions, racial attitudes, and affective responses). Study 3 examined the relationship between an ingroup advantage (i.e., White privilege) and an outgroup disadvantage (i.e., Black disadvantage) framework in eliciting White guilt and White shame responses and corresponding levels of racial justice engagement. Study 4 examined the utility of a mindfulness-based self-compassion framing of White privilege to reduce White shame responses, thus increasing racial justice engagement. Across the four studies, participants (n = 549) were undergraduates

enrolled in an introductory psychology course at either a public university or a private, Midwestern Catholic university who self-identified as White. Findings have potential utility for educators working with White students to help them better understand and manage White students' responses to White privilege.

The Role of Guilt, Shame, and Self-Compassion in Promoting Racial Justice Engagement for White Students

Scholars have called for the development of privilege studies as a means to further psychology's social justice mission (e.g., Case, Iuzzini, & Hopkins, 2012). The driving force behind privilege studies is the idea that oppression is a system of disadvantage *as well as* a system of advantage conferred on the basis of group membership (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 2007; Goodman, 2011; McIntosh, 1989). Although the mechanisms through which privilege operates differ according to the social identity through which it is conferred, this basic lens can be used to examine the advantages afforded by belonging to dominant groups in the United States (e.g., being White, a man, heterosexual, Christian, able-bodied, and cisgender). The fundamental goal of privilege studies is to draw attention to systems of privilege in order to further a social justice mission that works towards a society that is fair and just to all of its members.

Peggy McIntosh, who is well-known for her development and popularization of the concept of White privilege to describe systems of conferring unearned benefits to people who are White in the United States (McIntosh, 1989), has said, "I am convinced that studies of oppression will not go anywhere toward ending oppression unless they are accompanied by understanding of the systems of privilege that cause the systems of oppression" (McIntosh, 2012, p. 204). In the context of racial justice in the United States, privilege studies focus on White privilege in order to further understanding of how racism operates. White privilege describes a number of advantages enjoyed by people who are White on

the basis of their dominant group membership, such as issuing payment without having their credit questioned, occupying public spaces without being viewed as loitering or interloping, not being singled out by law enforcement on the basis of race, and not being asked to think about or represent their race in many educational, occupational, and social contexts. However, dominant discourses around racism often neglect to include an analysis of White privilege, focusing instead on the disadvantages faced by people of color (Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005). The current study aims to contribute to the field of privilege studies by examining how White students responded to a discourse framed in terms of White privilege.

Diversity and social justice courses in higher education provide one common venue through which students may begin to develop critical consciousness about systems of privilege and oppression, as well as an interest in and commitment to social justice (Caldwell & Vera, 2010; Case, 2007; Cole, Case, Rios, & Curtin, 2011; Warren, 2010). Through these courses, many students examine their own privileged identities for the first time (Goodman, 2011). Participation in diversity courses and other diversity activities is associated with a number of positive outcomes, such as multicultural competencies (Neville et al., 1996), openness to and appreciation of diversity (Spanierman, Neville, Liao, Hammer, & Wang, 2008), increased awareness of White privilege (Case 2007; Cole et al., 2011), more sophisticated White racial identity ego statuses (Neville et al., 1996), decreased system justifying beliefs (Cole et al., 2011), decreased levels of modern (or color-blind) racism

(Spanierman et al., 2008), and greater support for affirmative action (Case, 2007). Additionally, participation in diversity courses has been found to result in changes in race-related affect for White students (i.e., White empathy, guilt, and fear), indicating that students in these courses engage emotionally with the course material (Todd, Spanimerman, & Poteat, 2011). However, this development may not be a smooth process, and privileged students often exhibit various behavioral and emotional responses to diversity education that detract from the process of developing a social justice orientation (Adams et al., 2007; Goodman, 2011; Johnson, 2006; Tatum, 1992). Diversity educators have described these undesirable behavioral and affective responses under the broad banner of "resistance" (e.g., Goodman, 2011; Watt, 2007). Given the positive potential of diversity education to raise awareness and commitment to racial and social justice, more research is needed to better understand what produces and what can mitigate resistance to learning about privilege and oppression.

In regards to diversity education, scholars have described resistance as an unwillingness to engage in critical thinking or personal exploration around issues of privilege and oppression (Goodman, 2011). Resistance is typically conceptualized as an automatic defensive reaction that stems from fear and discomfort and can take a variety of forms, including vocal resistance (i.e., challenging an educator's authority), silent resistance (i.e., passive refusal to engage with ideas), and absent resistance (i.e., avoiding courses that address social justice issues) (Goodman, 2011; Higginbotham, 1996; Watt, 2007). Helms's (1990, 1995) research on White racial identity development proposes

that White people go through a series of stages in their relationship to issues of race-based disadvantage and privilege, and that the ultimate goal for White people is to construct a positive White identity that is not based on racial superiority and includes a sense of personal responsibility for working toward racial justice. At various points in this process, White people are more or less likely to exhibit resistance; in fact, pushing through resistance may be an important developmental step to overcome past attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors in the process of developing a positive, antiracist White identity (Goodman, 2011; Helms, 1995; Kegan, 1982; Okun, 2010). For educators facilitating diversity and social justice courses, it is especially important to both prevent and to engage with resistance productively when it does occur so that a positive, emotionally safe classroom climate is maintained and all students remain engaged in a critical learning process (Adams et al., 2007; Goodman, 2011; Tatum, 1992).

In this study, we contribute to research on privilege pedagogy (e.g., Goodman, 2011) by exploring the role of White guilt and shame in White students' responses to information about racism and White privilege with a focus on preventing and managing resistance behaviors. In Study 1, we examine the associations between White guilt, White shame, and racial justice engagement in the absence of information about White privilege (see Figure 1). In Study 2, we examine the relationship between White privilege awareness, White guilt and shame, and racial justice engagement (see Figure 2). In Study 3, we test the association between a privilege-based framework and a disadvantage-based framework in predicting racial justice engagement, which we propose will be

mediated by White guilt and White shame (see Figure 3). In Study 4, we examine how a self-compassion framing may decrease White shame and increase racial justice engagement for White students who participate in an educational activity on White privilege (see Figure 4). To situate this study in the literature, we first examine the impact of framing racism as a system of outgroup disadvantage or ingroup advantage (i.e., White privilege) on White students' responses. Second, we review past research on White guilt to develop the rationale for examining White guilt and White shame as separate constructs with different behavioral correlates. Finally, we build the rationale for self-compassion as a strategy to decrease resistance and encourage racial justice engagement and accountability among White students examining White privilege and oppression.

Privilege and Disadvantage Frameworks

In order to understand White guilt and shame responses based on racial group membership, it is important to discuss White privilege and to then elucidate how White privilege may connect to White guilt or shame responses. White privilege describes the unearned advantages conferred to White people through their membership in the dominant racial group in a racist society (e.g., Case, 2012; Israel, 2012; Pinterits, Poteat, & Spanierman, 2009). Peggy McIntosh's (1988) introduction of the concept of White privilege through the metaphor of an invisible knapsack spurred the development of White privilege studies. McIntosh distinguishes between unearned entitlements, or privileges that should be extended to all people (e.g., feeling safe, freedom from discrimination), and conferred dominance, or privileges that are harmful because they involve one

group having power over another group (e.g., unequal distribution of resources). In her original work, McIntosh (1988) described White privilege as an "invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks" (p. 2). She listed 46 examples of White privilege in everyday life, including the ability to rent or purchase housing in an affordable area and to be welcomed by one's neighbors, not being asked to speak on behalf of other members of one's racial group or being singled out on the basis of race, and seeing other members of one's race reflected in dominant culture. More recently, McIntosh (2012) introduced the metaphor of an inherited bank account to describe White privilege, noting that it can be spent down in service of social justice and will continue to automatically refill. This definition emphasizes the importance of utilizing privilege in the service of social justice.

Importantly, privilege is easy to miss if one is not intentionally looking for it. Johnson (2006) notes that systems of privilege are *dominated by* privileged groups (group members occupy positions of power), *identified with* privileged groups (group members are viewed as normal), and *centered on* privileged groups (the path of least resistance is to focus attention and resources on members of privileged groups). These characteristics illustrate the structural forces that simultaneously confer privilege to certain groups while making those group memberships less visible (Pratto & Stewart, 2012; Sue, 2004). Israel (2012) uses the metaphor of reading glasses to describe privilege awareness, noting that she frequently has to remind herself to adopt a privilege lens. She defines four

characteristics of privilege as follows: (a) privilege supports and strengthens dominant structures of power; (b) privilege is perpetuated by a systematic lack of consciousness about the costs and benefits it confers; (c) privilege operates on multiple levels, including social structures and interpersonal interactions; and (d) the intersection of privileged and oppressed identities affects how individuals experience privilege. This definition highlights the multifaceted nature of privilege as simultaneously structural, systemic, interpersonal, and individual. While privilege is established on structural levels, it has individual implications. Israel notes that the advantages conferred by membership in a privileged group can be internal (e.g., feeling safe to disclose details about one's personal life) as well as external (e.g., experiencing a positive response upon disclosing such details) and that the boundary between earned and unearned advantages is not always clear cut (e.g., working to create a loving relationship may be easier when the people involved are not dealing with discrimination and negativity). These nuances illustrate the pervasive nature and widespread impacts of systems of privilege. One important function of privilege frameworks is that they draw attention to privileged group memberships, thus naming privilege as a part of systems of oppression.

In the context of racism in the United States, racial injustice is primarily represented as a system of outgroup (i.e., Black) disadvantage rather than a system of ingroup (i.e., White) advantage. Importantly, White people do not automatically recognize White privilege as the counterpart to Black disadvantage (Lowery, Knowles, & Unzueta, 2007). Thus, racism can be viewed in two

psychologically separable frames: ingroup advantage (or White privilege) and outgroup disadvantage. In fact, research that frames social inequality as either ingroup advantage or outgroup disadvantage shows that these two framings result in different attitudinal outcomes. White privilege frameworks have been empirically found to result in increased support for affirmative action (Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003) and decreased racism (Powell et al., 2005) compared to Black disadvantage frameworks. In this same study, Powell et al. found that Black disadvantage frameworks can actually increase levels of modern racism among White people. Within a discourse of Black disadvantage, White people are able to avoid engaging with an understanding of how they are implicated in and benefit from racism. These discourses may even increase White racism through a focus on stereotypes about Black people (Powell et al., 2005). Thus, the use of Black disadvantage as the dominant framework for understanding racism in the United States functions to perpetuate this system of racial inequality (Powell et al., 2005). Because one aspect of White privilege is the social power to shape the dominant discourse, these findings illustrate the power of White privilege to be self-perpetuating (Sue, 2004).

White privilege frameworks do not universally result in positive outcomes. For example, perceptions that inequality is legitimate moderate these relationships such that ingroup advantage frameworks may elicit pride and increased racial prejudice (Powell et al., 2005). One important moderator of the impact of a White privilege framing on racial attitudes is ingroup identification (i.e., the extent to which a person identifies with the group associated with one of their

identities, such as race, gender, or sexual orientation). Higher White identification predicts increased modern racism in response to a White privilege framing, while lower White identification predicts decreased modern racism in response to a White privilege framing (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Schiffhauer, 2007). Additionally, individuals with higher White identification report less White privilege after receiving threatening feedback (Lowery et al., 2007). Image threat (i.e., the perceived risk of damage to a person's image) also appears to be central to this process, as White participants report higher levels of image threat in response to ingroup advantage frameworks than outgroup disadvantage frameworks (Lowery et al., 2007) and more perceptions of White privilege after establishing a positive self-image (Unzueta & Lowery, 2008). These results may be explained with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), which argues that group membership is important in self-definition and that people tend to value their ingroups. Thus, for highly identified White people, modern racism functions to justify White privilege and to decrease identity threat in response to thoughts about White privilege. However, there is also some evidence that ingroup advantage frameworks can decrease ingroup identification for White participants (Powell et al., 2005), so the moderating effect of ingroup identification may not be a simple, unidirectional process (i.e., White privilege frameworks may affect ingroup identification as well as vice versa). Clearly, the role of outgroup disadvantage versus ingroup advantage frameworks is in need of further investigation.

While support has been established for the utility of White privilege frameworks in decreasing racism and increasing support for affirmative outcomes, little empirical work has been done on other outcomes that may be associated with White privilege frameworks. In the current study, we focus more broadly on the outcome of racial justice engagement, which allows us to examine the cognitive (i.e., racial attitudes), affective (i.e., race-related affect), and behavioral (i.e., willingness to engage with White privilege) outcomes potentially connected to understandings of White privilege. Such an approach provides a more comprehensive understanding of responses White privilege that may be useful to educators working with White students around issues of racial justice.

There is evidence that White guilt (i.e., a specific form of collective guilt) mediates the relationship between White privilege frameworks and decreased racism (Iyer et al., 2003). Thus, it is important to explore the nature and function of White guilt in order to determine how it shapes White people's responses to White privilege frameworks. In the following section, we review research related to White guilt. Additionally, we argue that distinguishing between White guilt and White shame may provide greater clarity about the mediating role of these emotional responses. We propose that while both White guilt and White shame will be elicited by White privilege frameworks, White guilt will be associated with greater racial justice engagement (i.e., more positive racial attitudes, greater willingness to engage with White privilege, and less defensive race-related affect) whereas White shame will be associated with decreased racial justice engagement

(i.e., less positive racial attitudes, decreased willingness to engage with White privilege, and more defensive race-related affect).

White Guilt and White Shame

White guilt. White guilt has been identified as an important aspect of race-related affect (i.e., emotions experienced by White people resulting from their membership in the dominant racial group in the United States). White guilt is conceptualized as the guilt experienced by White people due to their membership in a dominant group in a system of racial inequality in the United States (Spanierman, Beard, & Todd, 2012; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Swim & Miller, 1999). White guilt is a self-conscious, collective emotion: it is based on the self-reflective knowledge of the receipt of racial privileges that are conferred on the basis of group membership and the disadvantages suffered by outgroup members. Collective guilt is experienced in response to actions on the group and societal level (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004). In the case of White guilt in the United States, these collective transgressions may include the seizure of native lands and the genocide of aboriginal peoples, the enslavement of African peoples, the use of segregation and violence to repress the civil rights movement, and the continuing use of social policies designed to maintain a racially stratified society (e.g., disparities in funding for school systems, law enforcement policies employing racial profiling, and discriminatory lending practices). White Americans' awareness of these injustices and the ongoing privileges they are conferred through their membership in the dominant racial group in the United States can result in feelings of White guilt.

White guilt has been associated with a number of outcomes related to racial justice engagement. Higher White guilt has been linked with attitudes such as lower racism, higher awareness of White privilege, and support for racial justice policies such as affirmative action (Powell et al., 2005; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Swim & Miller, 1999). In a cluster analysis that revealed patterns of White students based on race-related affect, guilt was the factor separating the most common type (empathic but unaccountable type) from the least common type (antiracist type) (Spanierman, Todd, & Anderson, 2009). This illustrates White guilt's important role in promoting critical awareness and antiracist attitudes and behaviors.

Research shows that levels of White guilt may shift over time for college students. These trajectories are different for students with high initial awareness of racism (who generally show a decrease in White guilt, perhaps as they learn to work through these feelings and participate in racial justice work) and students who have a low initial awareness of racism (who generally show an increase in White guilt, perhaps as they become aware of racial injustice) (Todd, Spanierman, & Poteat, 2011). White guilt increases in response to interventions to raise awareness about racism, including brief educational activities (Soble, Spanierman, & Liao, 2011) and longer diversity courses (Case, 2007). Additionally, when students take diversity courses, they report elevated levels of White guilt (Todd et al., 2011). Thus, one means through which diversity courses with college students may increase racial justice engagement in White students is through the development of appropriate levels of White guilt.

However, the utility of White guilt for racial justice work has been the topic of some debate. Steele (1990) distinguishes between "self-preoccupied guilt" and "the guilt of genuine concern," (p. 504), arguing that the first leads to social policy focused on establishing the innocence of Whites by delivering the appearance of redemption (e.g., affirmative action) while the second leads to social policies that actually uplift Black communities (e.g., equitable distribution of resources). This argument has some empirical support. While White guilt is predictive of compensatory policies such as affirmative action, sympathy has been found to be a stronger predictor of noncompensatory policies such as equal opportunity legislation (Iyer et al., 2003). Additionally, distress, not empathy, has been found to mediate the relationship between perceptions of the legitimacy of gender inequality and collective guilt (Miron, Bransocmbe, & Schmitt, 2006). These authors argue that because of the relationship between guilt and distress, collective guilt is only likely to lead to effective social policy if individuals feel personally implicated and if they do not have other readily available means of decreasing their distress.

These arguments are in line with Batson's empathy-altruism hypothesis, which proposes a distinction between empathic concern (empathy generated by a concern for another's well-being) and personal distress (negative emotions experienced in response to observing another in need) (Batson, Fultz, & Schoenrade, 1987). Miron et al.'s (2006) finding of the link between distress and guilt suggests that White guilt may share some limitations with Batson's concept of personal distress. In fact, it has been found that levels of collective guilt are

affected by the difficulty of making reparations (Schmitt, Miller, Branscombe, & Brehm, 2008) and self-efficacy beliefs (Stewart, Latu, Branscombe, & Denney, 2010), suggesting that levels of guilt vary depending on a number of self-oriented concerns. However, when scholars have distinguished between shame and guilt, guilt has been associated with other-oriented empathy, while shame has been associated with self-oriented distress (Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007). In the current study, we will examine White guilt and White shame separately in order to determine if the findings described above, such as distress and image threat, are better described as correlates of White shame than White guilt. This distinction will help to clarify the factors that contribute to and prohibit racial justice engagement for White students reflecting on White privilege.

Distinction between White guilt and shame. A major limitation of existing White guilt research is that it has largely conflated collective guilt and collective shame. Scholars have called for research that distinguishes between White guilt and shame and note that such specificity may help to untangle the complex findings around White guilt (e.g., Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier, & Ames, 2005). This distinction, which is similar to Steele's (1990) distinction between "self-preoccupied guilt" and "the guilt of genuine concern," proposes that guilt focuses on the effect that one's behavior has on others, while shame focuses on a preoccupation with one's core self and how this self will be perceived by others. For example, Spanierman and Soble (2010) note that there may be many different forms of White guilt that lead to different behavioral and attitudinal outcomes. Moreover, Swim and Miller (1999) postulate that White

guilt may be associated with positive outcomes such as support for affirmative action, while White shame may be associated with negative outcomes such as resistance to engaging with issues of race and racism. We now examine differences between guilt and shame and apply this framework to better understanding White guilt and White shame.

There is a large literature that discusses similarities and differences between the constructs of shame and guilt (e.g., Tangney et al., 2007). In the current study, we employ Lewis's (1971) definition, which argues that guilt involves evaluation of one's behavior and the consequences it has on others, while shame is centered on negative evaluation of the self and how one is perceived. Lewis summarizes this distinction as "*I* did that horrible thing" (shame) versus "I *did* that horrible *thing*" (guilt) (1971). Other distinctions between shame and guilt have provided differentiation based on categories of eliciting events and the degree to which the transgression is public versus private. However, these definitions have not found as much empirical support, and the self versus behavior distinction is currently the most widely used (Tangney et al., 2007).

Tangney has been a driving force behind contemporary research on shame and guilt and provides considerable empirical support for Lewis's distinction. Tangney et al.'s (2007) review outlines five overarching, empirically supported distinctions between shame and guilt as follows: (a) shame is associated with hiding or avoiding behaviors, while guilt is associated with approaching or amending behaviors; (b) shame is associated with self-oriented distress, while

guilt is associated with other-oriented empathy; (c) shame is associated with destructive reactions to anger, while guilt is associated with constructive responses; (d) shame is associated with a number of maladaptive outcomes, such as symptoms of depression and anxiety, while guilt is not; and (e) shame is positively associated with antisocial and risky behaviors, while guilt is inversely related to these behaviors. As these distinctions imply, a central characteristic of Tangney's distinction between guilt and shame is that shame is socially and psychologically maladaptive while guilt is adaptive. Some have criticized this distinction as overly simplistic, arguing that excessive guilt also can be maladaptive (e.g., Dost & Yagmurlu, 2008) or that the public/private distinction also should be considered (e.g., Wolf, Cohen, Panter, & Insko, 2010), but there is widely acknowledged empirical support for Tangney's definitions (for a review, see Tangney et al., 2007; Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Tangney, Miler, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996).

Shame and guilt are associated with separate behavioral correlates. Broadly speaking, shame is associated with defensiveness and hostility, including attempts to deny, hide, or escape from the shame-inducing situation, externalization of blame, and destructive expressions of anger (Tangney et al., 2007). Empirical evidence has supported these behavioral correlates of shame, finding that higher levels of shame result in the following: (a) in-group hostility (including hostile emotion, derogation, and punishment) (Piff, Martinez, & Kelnter, 2012), (b) feelings of annoyance, pain, reputational damage, punishing and distancing from the transgressors (Welten, Zeelenberg, & Brugelmans, 2012),

(c) activation of the Behavioral Inhibition System (which is sensitive to punishment) (Sheikh & Janoff-Bluman, 2009), (d) externalizing blame (Tracy & Robins, 2006), and (e) poor solutions to interpersonal problems, as well as efficacy to implement these solutions (Covert, Tangney, Maddux, & Heleno, 2003). As these findings illustrate, shame has largely been associated with destructive behavioral responses, such as hostility, blame, defensiveness, and withdrawal. Thus, we expect that White shame will be inversely associated with racial justice engagement.

Conversely, guilt has been associated with motivation to make amends, including confessing, apologizing, and seeking to repair the consequences of one's behavior (Tangney et al., 2007). This distinction also has been supported by empirical findings. While shame mediates the relationship between in-group transgression and in-group hostility, guilt is not a mediator (Piff et al., 2012). Shame is associated with the Behavioral Inhibition System, which is sensitive to punishment, but guilt is associated with the Behavioral Activation System, which is sensitive to reward (Sheikh & Janoff-Bulman, 2009). While shame has demonstrated associations with a number of negative outcomes, such as defensiveness and hostility, guilt has demonstrated associations with a number of positive outcomes, such as motivation to make amends. These findings demonstrate different outcomes for shame versus guilt.

This distinction between shame and guilt has been extended to collective shame and guilt (i.e., where both emotions relate to one's membership in a social group, such as race). Research shows that collective shame is associated with

increased identity relevance, image threat, and distancing behavior, whereas collective guilt is associated with reparation attitudes. Lickel et al. (2005) examined collective shame and guilt by considering them as vicarious emotions based on actions taken by members of different social groups whose relationship to the self varied in both shared identity (e.g., ethnic group membership) and interpersonal interdependence (defined by the extent of interaction, joint goals, and shared norms). They found that increased identity relevance between the person who took the action and the person who experienced the vicarious emotion resulted in greater shame, beliefs that the action reflected negatively on the self, and distancing behavior. However, identity relevance had no relationship to guilt. Interpersonal interdependence between the two people, beliefs that the person should have controlled the action, and attempts to repair the harm done were associated with guilt, but had no relationship to shame. These findings are consistent with Lewis's (1971) distinction between shame as self-focused and contributing to distancing behavior versus guilt as behavior-focused and contributing to repairing behavior. Based on these findings, Lickel and colleagues called for the inclusion of this guilt/shame distinction in research on collective guilt at the level of global and historical wrongdoings. Additional findings show that collective guilt may mediate the relationship between White privilege awareness and decreased racism (Powell et al., 2005) and the relationship between efficacy beliefs and antidiscrimination actions and attitudes (Stewart et al., 2010). While collective shame may support reparation attitudes in the short term, collective guilt but not shame supports reparation attitudes

longitudinally (Brown, González, Zagefka, Manxi, & Čehajić, 2008). Furthermore, the beneficial impacts of collective guilt on reparation attitudes are stronger for low-shame than high-shame participants (Brown et al., 2008). In sum, additional research is needed to understand the complex and perhaps nuanced operation of White guilt and shame.

Experiences of collective shame and guilt are related to levels of ingroup identification and assessments of image threat. Higher ingroup identifiers (e.g., White people who identify strongly with the racial group of White people) are more resistant to negative information about their ingroup. They are more likely to question the credibility of an outgroup member who presents negative information about the group and are less likely to support reparations than low ingroup identifiers (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 2006). High ingroup identifiers also are more likely to experience collective shame, which makes them more likely to demonstrate the negative behavioral outcomes associated with shame (Piff et al., 2012; Welten et al., 2012). This may be due to increases in threat to their self-image, which is associated with increased shame and desire to withdrawal (Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007).

This research on ingroup identification has direct implications for race-based guilt and shame (i.e., White guilt and shame). Race holds high identity relevance (e.g., Lickel et al., 2005), and thus White people may be more likely to experience White shame than White guilt. As the behavioral correlates of guilt and shame reviewed above demonstrate, shame leads to less desirable behaviors (e.g., defensiveness, hostility, and withdrawal) than guilt (e.g., motivation to make

amends). The link between shame, self-focused distress, and maladaptive behavioral responses is especially problematic, as it suggests that White people reflecting on White privilege will be likely to become involved in their own distress and to avoid engaging critically with racism or White privilege. Thus, some of the self-focused, distress-oriented limitations of guilt noted by Iyer et al. (2003) and Miron et al. (2006) may actually be attributable to shame responses. As this self-involved dynamic has been a primary basis on which the utility of White guilt has been questioned (e.g., Warren, 2010), making this distinction facilitates an understanding of the productive aspects of White guilt (e.g., Spanierman & Soble, 2010) as compared to the unproductive aspects of White shame. This distinction between White guilt and White shame is especially crucial for diversity course educators working with White students as it helps to explain the processes contributing to different responses to issues of privilege and oppression and can illuminate common sources of resistance (i.e., defensive unwillingness to think about and explore issues of privilege and oppression). The current research aims to contribute to this literature by examining the correlates of White guilt and White shame separately as they pertain to racial justice engagement.

Self-Compassion as a Strategy to Decrease Resistance

For educators seeking to increase racial justice engagement among White students, it is important to understand not only how and why White students might exhibit resistance responses, but how facilitators can structure a learning environment that reduces student resistance and increases racial justice

engagement. Thinking about White privilege may not be comfortable for many White people, but this discomfort is an important aspect of learning about and addressing White privilege (Israel, 2012). Thus, it is important to note that the goal of identifying strategies that promote positive responses to White privilege frameworks among White people is not to reduce or eliminate discomfort, but to promote awareness, accountability, and engagement in issues of racial justice. Self-compassion is one framework that offers promising strategies for self-affirmation and decreasing White shame while simultaneously encouraging openness to discomfort and accountable White guilt.

Self-compassion is a concept derived from Buddhist psychology that describes a form of emotion regulation (Neely, Schallert, Mohammed, Roberts, & Chen, 2009; Neff, 2003a, 2011). Neff (2003a, b, 2011) defines self-compassion as consisting of three basic components as follows: (a) self-kindness, (b) common humanity, and (c) mindfulness. She asserts that these components overlap and mutually reinforce each other such that they all interactively define the overarching concept of self-compassion. Each of these components is also defined in relation to its inverse. Self-kindness is defined as "extending kindness and understanding to oneself" (Neff, 2003b, p. 89) and stands in contrast with self-judgment. Self-kindness does not involve ignoring or distorting one's shortcomings or flaws, but rather describes a style of treating them in a gentle, accepting manner rather than engaging in harsh self-criticism. Common humanity is defined in opposition to isolation, and involves a central component of feeling connected to others. This connection involves an acceptance of

imperfection and suffering as part of the human condition, and individual shortcomings or hardships are seen from this inclusive perspective (Neff, 2011). Mindfulness, which is described as "being aware of present moment experience in a clear and balanced manner so that one neither ignores nor ruminates on disliked aspects of oneself or one's life" is contrasted with over-identification (Neff, 2011, p. 4). Thus, mindfulness involves several components: awareness of experience (and thoughts, emotions, etc.), focusing on the present, adopting a meta-perspective on experience, and avoiding over-involvement in one's own concerns. The mindfulness component of self-compassion indicates that when individuals exhibit true self-compassion, they do not avoid acknowledging shortcomings or wrongdoings by becoming complacent (Neff, 2003a). In fact, self-compassion has been empirically linked with accepting greater personal responsibility for a past failure (Leary, Tate, Adams, Allen, & Hancock, 2007). Thus, self-compassion is comprised of three interdependent domains: self-kindness, common humanity, and mindfulness. In creating an exercise to facilitate self-compassion among White students reflecting on White privilege, we plan to incorporate each of these three components.

Self-compassion is distinct from the related construct of self-esteem in that self-compassion is grounded in common humanity rather than evaluative standards. While self-compassion and self-esteem are both forms of positive regard for the self, self-esteem is based on judgments made about the self in relation to others or ideal standards (Neff, 2011). Self-compassion emphasizes connection to others rather than comparison to others, and thus does not rely on

inflated ideas about the self or unfavorable evaluations of others (Neff, 2003b, 2011). Gilbert and Irons (2005) argue that self-compassion and self-esteem tap different physiological systems, with self-compassion deactivating the threat system and activating the self-soothing system and self-esteem related to alerting impulses. Research found correlations of .57 - .68 between self-compassion and self-esteem (measured using the Rosenberg scale), likely because they both represent positive attitudes about the self (Barnard & Curry, 2011; Neff, 2011). However, research also has found important differences that reflect the conceptual differences between these two constructs. Leary et al. (2007) found that people induced to feel self-compassionate experienced fewer negative emotions and accepted greater personal responsibility for a past failure than people induced to have higher self-esteem. They also found that self-compassionate people rated their performance more similarly to observers' ratings of their performance than those low in self-compassion, who rated themselves more critically. This suggests that unlike self-esteem, which is associated with inflated perceptions of one's abilities, self-compassion is associated with more accurate perceptions of one's own performance. Additional research shows that self-compassion is positively correlated with self-worth stability and negatively correlated with contingent self-worth, whereas self-esteem is not a significant predictor of either. Self-compassionate people also showed less need for cognitive closure than those high in self-esteem, indicating that self-compassion may be important for encouraging critical thinking skills. Additionally, while self-esteem is significantly associated with narcissism, self-compassion has no relationship to

the construct (Neff, 2003a, Neff & Vonk, 2009). Thus, self-compassion can be viewed as a more stable, accepting, and humble form of self-regard than self-esteem.

Self-compassion provides a useful framework for educating White students about White privilege for several reasons. First, there is some evidence for an inverse relationship between self-compassion and shame. Barnard and Curry (2011) found that self-compassion was negatively associated with shame among a sample of Christian clergy (r = -.55, p < .001) but was unrelated to guilt (r = .00). Neff, Hsieh, and Dejitterat (2005) found that self-compassion was positively correlated with emotion-focused coping strategies (which are more likely to result from guilt) and negatively correlated with avoidance-oriented coping (which is more likely to result from shame) among students responding to academic failure. They also found that self-compassion was positively correlated with mastery orientation (the motivation to develop skills and to learn) and negatively correlated with performance orientation (the motivation to demonstrate ability or self-worth). Taken together, these findings share some similarities with patterns associated with guilt and shame, as self-compassion and guilt are both linked with active, approach-oriented coping strategies and a focus on behavior rather than the self.

Second, self-compassion may be a useful tool for diversity education as self-compassion is similar to self-affirmation in that both are forms of positive self-regard. In the context of privilege pedagogy, self-affirmation is a process where White students reflect on values that are important to them as to way to

affirm their sense of self. Research shows that when White students self-affirm in this way, they are more likely to acknowledge White privilege and express greater support for policies designed to address racial inequality, such as affirmative action (Lowery et al., 2007). This finding is in line with social psychology research on threats to the self, which has repeatedly found that "when the core of the self related to basic values and needs remains intact, there is more openness to information that would otherwise lead to defensive reactions and be blocked out" (Graupmann, Frey, & Streicher, 2013, p. 16). Thus, there is empirical support for a link between self-affirmation and racial justice engagement, which suggests that there may also be a link between self-compassion and racial justice engagement. We argue and test if this link is mediated by a reduction in levels of White shame.

Third, self-compassion may have particular utility for individuals examining privileged aspects of identity because self-compassion provides a framework for simultaneously being aware of one's shortcomings and treating them with compassion in order to avoid over-involvement with the self. Neff (2003a) notes that self-compassion transforms negative self-affect into positive self-affect by acknowledging one's fundamental, imperfect humanity rather than focusing on self-appraisal. She argues that this makes it especially useful for transforming negative attitudes in areas where self-improvement is difficult or impossible. While self-improvement in relation to White privilege is possible in the sense that individuals can grow in their understandings of racism, their development of a non-racist identity, and their commitment to working for racial justice (i.e., Helms, 1990, 1995), it is not possible in the sense that White people

cannot change their racial status or individually absolve themselves of the unearned advantages of White privilege. Rather, White people working for racial justice must continually work to develop and maintain awareness of White privilege and to use this privilege in the service of social justice (i.e., McIntosh, 2012; Todd & Abrams, 2011).

Although the identity-based nature of White privilege means that it may predispose shame attributions rather than guilt attributions and thus may be more likely to lead to avoidance responses (Lickel et al., 2005), social justice work requires ongoing engagement, awareness, and the ability to sit with discomfort (Israel, 2012). Self-compassion provides a framework for understanding how White people can think about White privilege in a mindful way that is grounded in shared humanity and avoids over-involvement with the self. Thus, we predict that participants who participate in a self-compassion exercise will exhibit lower levels of White shame than those who do not. We predict that this, in turn, will lead to greater racial justice engagement.

Fourth, self-compassion incorporates an emphasis on superordinate identity (common humanity), which may decrease White identification and lead to greater openness to thinking about White privilege (Branscombe et al., 2007). However, self-compassion's simultaneous emphasis on mindful awareness incorporates an element of accountability that is not present if White people simply focus on superordinate identities. Color-blind racial attitudes, or the belief that race does not matter and that people should strive to "not see race," are recognized as modern day forms of racism (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Brown,

2000; Thompson & Neville, 1999). White people, as members of the privileged racial group in the United States, are seldom made aware of their racial identities; thus, it is relatively easy for White people to focus on superordinate identities and to neglect attending to issues of race in everyday living.

The mindfulness component indicates that genuine self-compassion involves honestly engaging with experience; in the context of White privilege, this might mean that White people are engaged in the process of developing and maintaining critical awareness of White privilege. Research supports the greater willingness of those high in self-compassion to accept personal responsibility for their role in negative events, and that "self-compassionate people more readily accept undesirable aspects of their character and behavior than people low in self-compassion without obsessing about them, becoming defensive, or behaving badly" (Leary et al., 2007, p. 901). In fact, experiential avoidance, which is conceptualized by some as the opposite of mindfulness, is defined as "unwillingness to experience feelings, thoughts, and sensations as well as attempts to alter them" (Mitmansgruber, Beck, Höfer, & Schüßler, 2009, p. 448). This definition bears a striking resemblance to Goodman's (2011) definition of resistance as an unwillingness to engage in critical and/or personal exploration around issues of privilege and oppression. Thus, self-compassion incorporates empirically supported strategies for decreasing resistance among White people thinking about White privilege while maintaining an emphasis on personal accountability. Self-compassion may facilitate personal responsibility by

"decouple[ing] the relationship between taking responsibility and experiencing negative affect" (Barnard & Curry, 2011, p. 298).

Fifth, self-compassion has been found to increase with age (Neff & McGehee, 2010); thus, college students are not as likely as adults to have developed the emotion regulation skills associated with self-compassion. This may help to explain some of the emotional volatility and disorientation that educators (i.e., Goodman, 2011; Tatum, 1992) have noted White college students often exhibit when they begin developing an awareness of White privilege. Self-compassion encompasses a set of emotion regulation skills that college students are likely to find highly useful and beneficial, such as the ability to recognize negative affect without becoming over-involved with the self. As college is one of the primary contexts in which many White people are first exposed to social justice issues, self-compassion as a strategy may be especially relevant for diversity educators working with these students.

Finally, there is some evidence that self-compassion can be increased through interventions. Repeated brief (10 minute) mindfulness exercises with clinical psychology students have been found, quantitatively and qualitatively, to result in increases in self-kindness and increased understandings and perceptions of mindfulness skills (Moore, 2008). Participation in a Gestalt two-chair exercise was found to increase both self-compassion and social connectedness as well as decrease depression, rumination, thought suppression, anxiety, and self-criticism for some participants (Neff, Kirkpatrick, & Rude, 2007). Thus, while much research on self-compassion has focused on it as a more stable individual trait

(i.e., Neff, 2003b, 2011), there is also evidence that self-compassion can be increased through mindfulness exercises and educational activities. As the existing research has focused on self-compassion in relation to personal flaws or shortcomings, the current study contributes to the literature by examining the utility of self-compassion as a strategy for facilitating positive outcomes (i.e., racial justice engagement) in response to awareness of collective injustice (i.e., White privilege). We posit that this will be accomplished through a reduction in feelings of White shame among White students reflecting on White privilege within an educational context designed to elicit self-compassion.

Rationale

The current study, which is a collection of 4 studies, fills a gap in the literature by incorporating research on White racial identity, social psychology research on guilt and shame, work on privilege studies, and strategies from Buddhist psychology to better explore the role of White guilt and shame in promoting racial justice engagement among White students. Distinguishing between White guilt and White shame may provide psychologists and educators with more accurate information about the mediating function of these emotions on White students' levels of racial justice engagement. In the context of privilege frameworks, which we predicted would be especially likely to elicit guilt and shame responses, self-compassion may provide a useful framework for decreasing White shame (and the resistance that accompanies it) without decreasing the accountability that comes with White guilt. While we are broadly interested in the outcome of racial justice engagement, we examine this general outcome

through three more specific outcomes: (a) behavioral intentions, (b) racial attitudes, and (c) race-related affect. These three outcomes reflect the behavioral, cognitive, and affective dimensions of racial justice engagement and are presented in more detail in Table 1 and discussed more fully in the Methods section. Study hypotheses are presented in Table 2.

First, Study 1 functions as a baseline condition in which we examine the links between White guilt, White shame, and racial justice engagement when participants are not first asked about White privilege. This serves to assess levels of White guilt and shame when priming awareness of White privilege has not occurred. Consistent with the literature on guilt and shame, we predict that White guilt and White shame will be positively associated. We also predict that White guilt will be associated with behavioral intentions to engage with issues around White privilege, racial attitudes that support working towards racial equality, and more positive race-related affect. We also hypothesize that White shame will be associated with behavioral intentions to avoid issues around White privilege, racial attitudes that do not support working towards racial equality, and more negative or hostile race-related affect.

In Study 2, we examine the links between White privilege awareness, White guilt, White shame, and racial justice engagement. In this study we first assess awareness of White privilege followed by White guilt and shame and then the racial justice outcomes. We predict that greater White privilege awareness will be associated with greater White guilt and White shame, and that White privilege awareness will be positively associated with each racial justice

engagement outcome. Consistent with the literature on guilt and shame, we predict that White guilt and White shame will be positively associated. We predict that White guilt will be associated with behavioral intentions to engage with issues around White privilege, racial attitudes that support working towards racial equality, and more positive race-related affect. We predict that White shame will be associated with behavioral intentions to avoid issues around White privilege, racial attitudes that do not support working towards racial equality, and more negative or hostile race-related affect. Finally, we predict that White guilt and White shame will mediate the relationship between White privilege awareness and racial justice engagement.

In Study 3, we experimentally examine the links between ingroup advantage and outgroup disadvantage frameworks, White shame and guilt, and racial justice engagement. In this study, participants will first reflect on racial inequality by rating their agreement with a series of statements about racism. Following previous research (Powell et al., 2005), we will manipulate the framing of these statements to encourage participants to reflect on the advantages they experience as White Americans (i.e., ingroup advantage) or the disadvantages experienced by Black Americans (i.e., outgroup disadvantage). We predict that ingroup advantage frameworks will be associated with greater White guilt and White shame than outgroup disadvantage frameworks, and that consequently White shame will predict more negative and White guilt more positive racial justice engagement outcomes.

In Study 4, we examine the utility of self-compassion as an educational tool for reducing White shame and promoting racial justice engagement among White students reflecting on White privilege. In this study, participants will either be led through a self-compassion exercise or a time-filler task before and after watching a video that discusses White privilege. We predict that participants who complete the self-compassion exercise will exhibit lower levels of White shame than those in the time-filler condition, and that they will consequently exhibit greater racial justice engagement. Therefore, in Study 4, we aimed to contribute to the diversity education literature by exploring the utility of self-compassion as a tool for working with White students on issues of racial privilege.

Study Hypotheses

Study 1: Baseline Condition

Hypothesis 1: Relationship between Shame and Guilt

- Shame and guilt will be positively associated.

Hypothesis 2: Guilt, Shame, and Racial Justice Engagement

- Guilt will be positively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.
- Shame will be negatively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.

Study 2: White Privilege Awareness, White Guilt and Shame, and Racial Justice Engagement

Hypothesis 1: Relationship between Shame and Guilt

- Shame and guilt will be positively associated.

Hypothesis 2: Guilt, Shame, and Racial Justice Engagement

- Guilt will be positively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.
- Shame will be negatively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.

Hypothesis 3: White Privilege Awareness

- White privilege awareness will be associated with greater shame.
- White privilege awareness will be associated with greater guilt.
- White privilege awareness will be positively associated with each racial justice outcome.

Hypothesis 4: Mediation

- Guilt and shame will mediate the association between White privilege awareness and each racial justice engagement outcome.

Study 3: Ingroup Advantage/Outgroup Disadvantage Framing

Hypothesis 1: Relationship between Shame and Guilt

- Guilt and shame will be positively associated.

Hypothesis 2: Guilt, Shame, and Racial Justice Engagement

- Guilt will be positively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.
- Shame will be negatively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.

Hypothesis 3: Ingroup Advantage, Shame, and Guilt

- Ingroup advantage frameworks will be associated with greater shame.
- Ingroup advantage frameworks will be associated with greater guilt.
- Ingroup advantage frameworks will be positively associated with each racial justice outcome.

Hypothesis 4: Mediation

- Guilt and shame will mediate the association between ingroup advantage frameworks and each racial justice engagement outcome.

Study 4: Self-Compassion

Hypothesis 1: Relationship between Shame and Guilt

- Guilt and shame will be positively associated.

Hypothesis 2: Guilt, Shame, and Racial Justice Engagement

- Guilt will be positively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.
- Shame will be negatively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.

Hypothesis 3: Self-compassion, Shame, and Guilt

- A self-compassion intervention will be associated with lower shame.
- A self-compassion intervention will not be associated with guilt.
- A self-compassion intervention will be positively associated with each racial justice outcome.

Hypothesis 4: Mediation

- Guilt and shame will mediate the association between the self-compassion intervention and each racial justice engagement outcome.

Method

Research Participants

For Studies 1, 3, and 4 we sampled student participants from the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, a large, Midwestern public university. For Study 2 we sampled from the DePaul Psychology Research Participant System. At both universities, participants were enrolled in an undergraduate introductory psychology course and received course credit for their participation. Additionally, given the focus of the study, the study was only made visible to participants who self-identify as White or Caucasian. As we are interested in generating findings that will have utility for educators working with White students around issues of White privilege and racial justice, sampling White college students is an appropriate strategy for our research. Within each study described below, we present other demographic information for participants.

Power Analysis

Prior to collecting data we conducted an a priori power analysis to determine our minimum sample size for each study. We determined that in order to have adequate power to achieve the goals of the study we needed to 50 participants for Study 1, 100 participants for Study 2, 100 participants for Study 3, and 100 participants for Study 4. To determine the minimum sample size needed to have adequate power to run our analyses (i.e., power of .80), power analyses were conducted for both an independent-samples *t*-test and simple regression. Medium effect sizes were tested for each type of analysis based on Cohen's

(1977, 1988) levels of effect sizes; in this case, an effect size of .50 for a *t*-test comparing two means, and an effect size of .20 and .50 for the simple linear regression. Power analyses were conducted at the $\alpha = .05$ level of significance for a two-tailed estimate. We based the estimates of standard errors on previous research and conducted power analysis with a few different estimates to increase confidence in the results. Based on these analyses, we determined the sample sizes for each study listed above to result in power of at least .80 to detect a significant effect for each path to test the hypotheses. These sample sizes are comparable or exceed research using similar methods for similar topics (e.g., Powell, 2005), providing further justification for the proposed sample size.

Measures

Most measures are used across all four studies. However, measures that are only used in a particular study are noted as such. For a list of the measures included in each study and the order of administration, see the Appendix. We also report internal consistency and descriptive statistics for each study in their respective tables, Tables 4 (Study 1), 17 (Study 2), 29 (Study 3), and 41 (Study 4) and found acceptable internal consistency for all scales across all studies. Below the general scales are described.

Predictor: White privilege awareness. White privilege awareness was assessed using the four-item White Privilege Awareness subscale of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS, Pinterits et al., 2009). The WPAS is designed to measure the cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions of White privilege. It is comprised of four subscales: (a) Willingness to Confront White Privilege (12

items; e.g., "I plan to work to change our unfair social structure that promotes White privilege"), (b) Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege (6 items; e.g., "I am worried that taking action against White privilege will hurt my relationships with other Whites"), (c) White Privilege Awareness (4 items; e.g., "Our social structure system promotes White privilege"), and (d) White Privilege Remorse (6 items; e.g., "I feel awful about White privilege.") (Pinterits et al., 2009). Each of these subscales is constructed using a six-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores indicate higher White privilege attitudes. The White Privilege Awareness subscale has been found to have good internal consistency ($\alpha = .84$) (Pinterits et al., 2009). Evidence for convergent validity was provided through associations with the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000), the Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahay, 1986), and the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994) (Pinterits et al., 2009). The White Privilege Awareness subscale and the Willingness to Confront White Privilege subscales were utilized in all studies. Also, the Willingness to Confront White Privilege subscale will be discussed in more detail in the section of this paper that focuses on outcome variables.

Mediator: White guilt. A measure of White Guilt was adapted for the current study based on a ten-item measure of collective guilt written by Brown et al. (Study 3, 2008). This measure was originally developed to assess collective guilt among non-indigenous Chileans as they reflected on treatment of the Mapuche, the largest indigenous group in Chile (e.g., "I feel guilty for the manner

in which the Mapuche have been treated in the past by "Non-Indigenous" Chileans"). The original measure used by Brown et al. evidenced good reliability ($\alpha = .93$). Items from the collective guilt scale loaded onto the first factor (factor loadings ranged from .58 - .90, cross loadings < .12) (Brown et al., 2008). The scale operates on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*completely agree*) to 5 (*completely disagree*), with higher scores indicating higher guilt (Brown et al., 2008). However, for consistency with the other scales in the current study, the Likert-scale was reversed so that it ranged from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree)*. As this original scale required recoding, the higher scores on the adapted scale indicate higher guilt. We adapted this measure for use in the current study by substituting the phrase "White Americans" for "Non-Indigenous Chileans," "African Americans" for "the Mapuche," and "the United States" for "Chile." Additionally, "enslaved African Americans" was substituted for "stolen Mapuche lands." To preserve the scale's psychometric properties, no other wording was changed. Items for the modified White guilt and shame scales are included in the Appendix. White guilt and shame are included in all four studies.

Mediator: White shame. A measure of White shame was adapted for the current study based on a ten-item measure of collective shame written by Brown et al. (Study 3, 2008). As with the White guilt scale, this measure was originally developed to assess collective shame among non-indigenous Chileans as they reflected on treatment of the Mapuche, the largest indigenous group in Chile (e.g., "It shames me when I realize that "Non-Indigenous" Chileans could be intolerant by nature"). Like the White guilt scale, the White shame scale operates on a five-

point Likert type scale, with higher scores indicating higher White shame. The Likert scale on this measure was also adapted to be consistent with the other measures in the study. Brown et al. constructed this measure of collective shame based on the self/behavior and avoidance/approach between shame and guilt popularized by Lewis (1971) and Tangney (2007) and discussed throughout this paper. They found the collective shame scale to have good reliability ($\alpha = .93$). Additionally, the authors found that collective shame and guilt loaded onto separate factors (cross loadings < .13) with shame constituting the second factor (loadings ranged from .65 - .85). As in previous research on guilt and shame, there was a moderate correlation between collective shame and collective guilt ($r = .68$, $p < .001$, $n = 186$) (Brown et al., 2008). The same wording substitutions as those used in the White guilt scale were used to adapt this scale for use in the current study. To preserve the scale's psychometric properties, no other wording was changed. Order of presentation of the White guilt and shame measures was randomized, so that some participants answered the White guilt items first, while others answered White shame items first.

Outcome: Behavioral intentions. Although the overall outcome we are interested in is racial justice engagement, we examined this broader outcome through three more specific outcomes: behavioral intentions, racial attitudes, and race-related affect. Each of these reflects the behavioral, cognitive, and affective dimensions of racial justice engagement, respectively. Behavioral intentions were assessed using four measures: Willingness to Confront White Privilege (Pinterits et al., 2009), Willingness to self-educate about White privilege, Willingness to

discuss White privilege, and Willingness to take courses involving White privilege. We included a variety of measures of behavioral intentions in order to ensure that we include a range of potential behaviors that may represent racial justice engagement for White students.

Willingness to Confront White Privilege is a 12-item subscale of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale discussed previously (WPAS, Pinterits et al., 2009). Of the four subscales in the WPAS, Willingness to Confront White Privilege and White Privilege Awareness are the two scales that will be utilized in this study. Like the White Privilege Awareness subscale, the Willingness to Confront White Privilege subscale is based on a six-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating greater willingness to confront White privilege. Willingness to Confront White Privilege represents the behavioral aspect of the WPAS (e.g., "I take action against White privilege with people I know."). This subscale has demonstrated good internal consistency ($\alpha = .95$) and convergent validity with the CoBRAS, the MRS, and the SDO (Pinterits et al., 2009).

The Willingness to Confront White Privilege subscale addresses a number of behavioral intentions. To ensure that we tap into a broad range of behavioral outcomes that we believe will show differential relationships with White shame and White guilt, we developed three additional measures. For each of these three outcomes, participants rate their likelihood to engage in a number of activities on a six-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 6 (*very likely*), with higher scores indicating greater willingness to engage with White privilege. The

first of these, *Willingness to self-educate about White privilege*, includes five items designed to assess participants' willingness to independently seek out information about White privilege (e.g., "Search for information about White privilege on the internet"). The second, *Willingness to discuss White privilege*, includes five items designed to assess participants' willingness to discuss White privilege in the context of a number of different relationships (e.g., "Discuss White privilege with a family member"). The third, *Willingness to take courses involving White privilege*, includes five items designed to assess participants' willingness to participate in formal educational activities involving White privilege (e.g., "Sign up for a workshop on White privilege"). Items for each of these scales are included in the Appendix and were used in all four studies to capture behavioral intentions that reflect racial justice engagement.

Outcome: Racial attitudes. The racial attitudes outcome is designed to assess the cognitive aspect of racial justice engagement. Racial attitudes were assessed using three measures: racism, identity threat, and support for affirmative action and were used in all four studies. *Racism* was assessed using a five-item measure developed by Powell et al. (2005) that was adapted from the Modern Sexism Scale (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). Answers are based on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating higher racism (e.g., "Society has reached a point where Black and White Americans have equal opportunities for achievement.") (Powell et al., 2005). This measure has demonstrated adequate reliability ($\alpha = .76$) (Powell et al., 2005).

Identity threat was assessed using a three-item measure adapted from the measure of image threat appraisal developed by Brown et al. (Study 3, 2008). This scale was designed to measure appraisals of threat to the ingroup's image, not emotions caused by these appraisals, with items such as, "I consider that our image as Chileans has been negatively affected by the way we have addressed Mapuche issues." This measure operates on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*completely agree*) to 5 (*completely disagree*), with lower scores indicating greater image threat. In order to achieve consistency with the other Likert-type scales in the study, the scale on this measure was adapted to a 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree*) scale with higher scores indicating greater image threat. The image threat scale demonstrated adequate reliability ($\alpha = .75$) (Brown et al., 2008). This measure was adapted for use in the current studies by substituting the phrase "White Americans" for "Chileans" and "African Americans" for "the Mapuche."

Support for affirmative action was assessed using an eight-item scale developed by Swim and Miller (1999). This scale operates on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) with higher scores indicative of higher support for affirmative action. The scale is designed to assess support for a number of affirmative action programs with example items such as, "Blacks should receive racial entitlement such as affirmative action and other forms of compensation due to the past injustices of White America." This scale has demonstrated adequate reliability ($\alpha = .75$) (Swim & Miller, 1999).

Outcome: Race-related affect. To assess the affective dimension of racial justice engagement, both self-report and implicit measures were used. To assess self-report race-related affect, a ten-item scale was developed for the current study. It includes a range of positive and negative emotions that are designed to represent *receptive affective responses* (e.g., "Eager to do something about White privilege") and *defensive* (or resistant) *affective responses* (e.g., "Angry that I am being asked about White privilege"). Responses are scored on a six-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating higher racial justice engagement. This scale explicitly links affective experiences to White privilege in order to ensure that participants are responding based specifically on their affective responses to reflecting on White privilege rather than their broader current affective state, which could be impacted by any number of variables.

Implicit positive and negative affect were assessed using the Implicit Positive and Negative Affect Test (IPANAT; Quirin, Kazén, & Kuhl, 2009). This scale measure affect indirectly by asking participants to rate the extent to which artificial words express certain mood states. Six artificial words (*SAFME, VIKES, TUNBA, TALEP, BELNI, SUKOV*) are presented along with three positive (*happy, cheerful, energetic*) and three negative (*helpless, tense, inhibited*) emotion words, for a total of 36 word pairs. Participants rate the degree of fit within word pairs using a 1 (*doesn't fit at all*) to 4 (*fits very well*) scale. Previous research has found adequate internal reliability ($\alpha = .81$) and test-retest reliability ($r = .72$-$.74$) (Quirin et al., 2009).

Self-compassion. Participants' level of self-compassion was assessed using the Self-Compassion Scale-Short Form (SCS-SF, Raes, Pommier, Neff, & Van Gucht, 2011). This scale was developed from the Self-Compassion Scale (SCS, Neff, 2003b), which is the standard scale of self-compassion. The original scale has 26 items, while the short form has 12. Both scales assess responses based on a five-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost always*), with higher scores indicating stronger scores in each of the six components of self-compassion. Consistent with Neff's conceptualization of self-compassion (2003a), the six components of self-compassion include three components whose presence illustrates greater self-compassion (Self-Kindness, Common Humanity, and Mindfulness) and three parallel components whose presence illustrates less self-compassion (Self-Judgment, Isolation, and Over-Identification). Both scales assess all six components of self-compassion: Self-Kindness (e.g., "When I'm going through a hard time, I give myself the caring and tenderness I need"), Self-Judgment (e.g., "I'm intolerant and impatient towards those aspects of my personality I don't like"), Common Humanity (e.g., "I try to see my failings as part of the human condition"), Isolation (e.g., "When I'm feeling down, I tend to feel like most other people are probably happier than I am"), Mindfulness (e.g., "When something upsets me I try to keep my emotions in balance"), and Over-Identification (e.g., "When I fail at something important to me I become consumed by feelings of inadequacy") (Raes et al., 2011). The results of the Self-compassion Scale can be examined both in terms of individuals' subscale scores and their overall score (Neff, 2003b; Raes et al.,

2011). For the purposes of the current research, we plan to examine participants' overall self-compassion scores rather than their scores on specific subscales. The SCS-SF shows a strong correlation with the long form of the SCS ($r \geq .97$) and has shown the same six-factor structure as the full-scale SCS using confirmatory factor analysis. While the internal consistency of its subscales is somewhat low (ranging from 0.54 - 0.81 for the English version), the authors of the SCS-SF note that it can be effectively used for general score information if information about subscales is not crucial, and it has demonstrated adequate reliability ($\alpha \geq .86$) (Raes et al., 2011). In the current Study 4, the internal consistency for the total self-compassion scale was very low at 0.30.

Ingroup identification. Ingroup identification was assessed using Branscombe et al.'s (2007) scale of White identification. This five-item scale is based on a seven-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating greater ingroup identification (e.g., "Being White just feels natural to me"). All items in this scale were shown to load onto a single factor, and it showed good reliability ($\alpha = .87$) (Branscombe et al., 2007). This scale is a shortened version of the scale used by Powell et al. (2005), which included two additional items: "Being White is an important part of who I am" and "I identify with other Whites." Because the version used by Branscombe et al. (2007) showed adequate reliability, the shortened version was used in the current study.

Demographics. A demographic questionnaire was included in the survey to gather background information such as age, race/ethnicity (to ensure all

students self-identify as White), gender, and family income. This section also will assess political orientation through a single item ("Politically, I would say I am…" on a 1 [*very conservative*] to 6 [*very liberal*] scale). The 1 to 6 scale was used in Studies 1, 2, and 3, and as described later a 1 to 7 scale was used in Study 4. Prior diversity course experience was assessed through three items (e.g., "How many diversity classes or workshops have you taken?" with response options: 1 [*none*], 2 [*very little*], 3 [*some*], and 4 [*extensive diversity education*]).

General free response questions. Two free response questions were included at the end of the survey to capture additional information. The first solicits feedback about participants' experiences with the survey. It reads, "People have many different reactions to the content of this study. We are always looking for ways that we can improve this study for future participants and are curious about your response to the study. Please write a brief paragraph about your experience with the content of this study in the box below." This item is included for two purposes as follows: (a) to give participants a chance to process their experiences with the survey through writing, and (b) to gather qualitative information that may not be captured through other measures. Although we do not plan to include this qualitative information into the analyses for the current study, we may include it in future analysis.

The second free response question invites participants to submit their email addresses if they are interested in participating in a follow-up component to the current study. This question was included for participants in Studies 1, 3, and 4. It reads, "We may conduct a follow-up to this study. Participants in the

follow-up study would be asked to answer some questions similar to the ones you answered today. The follow-up study would be conducted online. People who choose to participate in the follow-up study will receive a $10 iTunes or amazon.com gift cards. No subject pool credit will be given for the follow-up study. If you would like to be contacted about the follow-up study, please enter your email address into the box below. We will only use your email to contact you in the future, and even if you give us your email now you are under no obligation to participate in the future. Please make sure to write clearly." While we do not include this follow-up component into the analyses for the current study, we may include it in future analysis.

Procedures

Studies 1, 2, and 3 were conducted online and took around a half an hour. Participants in the DePaul participant pool received half a credit for participation whereas students at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign received one credit (due to different regulations of how credits are assigned). Study 4 was conducted in-person in groups of 2-12 students (except for one student who was the only participant in one session) and took about 50 minutes to complete. Participants in both participant pools received one credit for participation in Study 4. Students who participated in any one Study were not able able to participate in the other three studies. Participants in Studies 1, 3, and 4 were given the option to participate in a follow-up survey that took place three months after the initial study. Participants who completed the follow-up survey were compensated with a $10 iTunes or amazon.com gift card.

Study 1. The first study examines the relationships between White shame, White guilt, and racial justice engagement when White privilege awareness is not primed. Participants were recruited through the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Research Participant System. Prior to completion of the survey, participants provided informed consent and were reminded that their participation is voluntary. The survey consisted of the measures listed above. Measures were presented in the following order: Demographics, White Guilt and White Shame, Behavioral Intentions, Racial Attitudes, Race-Related Affect, White Privilege Awareness, and the general free response question (see appendix for a table of survey questions and order). The survey lasted approximately 30 minutes. Participants were provided with the contact information of the primary researcher in case they had any questions or concerns about the survey. In addition to a paragraph describing the purpose of the survey, a free-response comment box was utilized at the end of the survey to help participants debrief their experience answering survey questions. Additional links to resources on White privilege and societal racism also were available for students interested in learning more about these issues.

Study 2. The second study involved correlational research examining the relationship between White privilege awareness, White shame and guilt, and racial justice engagement. Participants were recruited through the DePaul Research Participant System. Prior to completion of the survey, participants were provided informed consent and will be reminded that their participation is voluntary. The survey will consist of the measures listed above. Measures will

be presented in the following order: Demographics, White Privilege Awareness, White Guilt and White Shame, Behavioral Intentions, Racial Attitudes, Race-Related Affect, and the general free response question (see appendix for a table of survey questions and order). The survey will last approximately 30 minutes. Participants were provided with the contact information of the primary researcher in case they have any questions or concerns about the survey. In addition to a paragraph describing the purpose of the survey, a free-response comment box was used at the end of the survey to help participants debrief their experience answering survey questions. Additional links to resources on White privilege and societal racism also were available for students interested in learning more about these issues.

Study 3. The third study involved an experimental manipulation: information about racism will be presented either as ingroup advantage (i.e., White privilege) or outgroup disadvantage (i.e., Black discrimination), and the resulting effects on White guilt and shame and racial justice engagement will be examined. This manipulation follows the same procedures as Powell et al. (2005). Participants were recruited through the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Research Participant System. After providing informed consent, participants completed a brief Demographics section. They were then presented with 24 statements about racial inequality that were framed either in terms of White privilege or Black disadvantage. Participants rated their agreement with these items on a 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale to ensure that they are carefully reading and considering these items. These statements were

created by Powell et al. (2005) and were based on McIntosh's (1992) list of examples of White privilege. (For a complete list of the 24 items, see the appendix.) Finally, participants were given the remaining survey items in a set order: White Guilt and White Shame, Behavioral Intentions, Racial Attitudes, Race-Related Affect, and White Privilege Awareness. At the end of these surveys, participants were given the general free response question. The survey lasted approximately 30 minutes. Participants were provided with the contact information of the primary researcher in case they had any questions or concerns about the survey, a paragraph debriefing the purpose of the survey, and a free-response comment box at the end of the survey to aid in the debriefing process. Additional links to resources on White privilege and societal racism also were presented for students interested in these resources.

Study 4. Unlike the first three studies, Study 4 was a lab-based study that took place in person. Participants were recruited through the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Research Participant System and signed up for a timeslot to complete the study. Each timeslot accommodated up to fifteen participants. Although efforts were made to balance the experimental and control groups by time of day and week, this was unfeasible. Instead, condition was alternated or a certain condition was selected if it needed more participants. The same experimenter conducted the study for all groups to ensure there effects would not be due to having a different experimenter. Participants met at a designated time and place and signed in using their name. After providing informed consent, participants completed the following measures: Demographics

and White Privilege Awareness. A White experimenter who identifies as a woman then conducted a brief self-compassion exercise (self-compassion condition) or a time-filler exercise (control condition) with the group. Following this exercise, the experimenter read a brief passage that defined the concept of White privilege. This passage included a selection of 10 items from the list of 24 examples of White privilege used in Study 3 (Powell et al., 2005). Participants were then shown a brief video about White privilege that will lasted approximately eight and a half minutes. The video was created from clips drawn from the documentary *Cracking the codes: The system of racial inequity* (Butler, 2012). Clips were selected based on the extent to which they explicitly addressed White privilege (as opposed to Black disadvantage). Potential clips were peer-reviewed and rated for inclusion in Study 4. The top-rated clips were then reviewed by the research team, and final clips were selected to create a balance of topics (e.g., racial profiling, opportunity structure, and implicit associations between African-Americans and negativity), speakers (e.g., both men and women), and to meet time constraints. (For a list of the specific clips included in the video, see the appendix.) After the video, the same experimenter again conducted a brief self-compassion exercise (self-compassion condition) or a time-filler exercise (control condition) with the group. Finally, participants completed the following survey items in a set order: White Guilt and White Shame, Behavioral Intentions, Racial Attitudes, Race-Related Affect, and Self-Compassion. Following these measures, participants completed the general free

response questions. Participants were then debriefed about the purpose of the study and the session then drew to a close. Each session lasted about 50 minutes.

Preliminary Analyses

Initial Data Screening

Prior to conducting analyses, we identified and dropped participants who were outliers on study variables. Studies 1-3 were conducted online and thus we examined the distribution of how long it took participants to complete the study to identify students who went too fast or two slow. To do so, we looked for clusters of observations in the lower or upper tails of the distribution. Second, within each study we examined histograms of the distribution of responses for each variable to identify outliers. We determined that an outlier was present if the observation had a standardized score of at least 3.29 units above or below the mean and was disconnected from the other responses (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Thus, both visual and numeric information guided this decision. For Studies 1, 2, and 3, we identified a small cluster of 8, 10, and 2 participants (respectively) who took fewer than 7.5 minutes to complete the survey and dropped them from future analyses. For Studies 1 and 3 we also identified 3 and 3 participants (respectively) who took longer than 90 minutes to complete the survey and dropped them from further analyses. Using the criteria described above, for Studies 1, 2, and 3 we dropped 2, 1, and 6 participants (respectively) who were on the very low end of the ingroup identification scale (we did not examine this variable in these analyses but still used it to identify outliers, more information is available upon request). For Study 1 we dropped one participant who was on the

very high end of both the implicit positive and negative affect scales. Finally, for Study 4 we dropped one participant on the very high end of the defensive race related affect scale. Dropping these participants resulted in a total sample size of 549 across all four studies.

Factor Structure of White Guilt and Shame

First, we conducted an exploratory factor analysis using a pooled sample (n = 549) from all four studies to examine the factor structure of our measure of White guilt and shame. Only items from the Brown et al. (2008) collective guilt and shame scales that included the words "guilt" or "shame" were included, resulting in seven guilt items and seven shame items. Preliminary factor analysis of these fourteen items was conducted using the principal axis method of extraction with direct oblimin rotation. Examination of the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO = .95) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity (Approximate Chi-Square (91) = 6912.57, p < .001) indicated this sample was appropriate for factor analysis. The EFA resulted in two factors with eigenvalues greater than one which together explained 68.80% of the total variance. Findings confirmed that the guilt and shame items did indeed load on separate, although correlated factors. Examination of the pattern matrix revealed that all seven shame items loaded on the first factor (loadings: .60–.87) but not on the second factor (loadings: < .20), and the seven guilt items loaded on the second factor (loadings: -.57 – -.98) but not on the first factor (loadings: < .30). As the loadings indicate, the second factor conceptually represents a lack of guilt, as the guilt items loaded negatively onto this factor. However, the guilt scale formed from

these items is constructed so that higher scores indicate greater guilt. Overall, the two resulting scales had adequate internal reliabilities (αs = .93 and .94 for shame and guilt, respectively) and were positively correlated (r = .72, p < .001). For factor loadings of individual items, please see Table 3. Also, scale internal reliabilities and correlations are reported separately in associated study tables; however reliability was adequate across all studies.

Study 1

Participants

All participants (n = 105) were current students enrolled in introductory psychology courses at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The average age was 19.57 (*SD* = 1.36, *Range* 18-23. All participants self-identified as White or Caucasian. 64 participants identified as female (61.0%), and 41 participants identified as male (39.0%). Regarding year in college, most participants were in their first year (n = 43, 41.0%), followed by second (n = 23, 21.9%), third (n = 27, 25.7%), fourth (n = 9, 8.6%), and fifth year or beyond (n = 3, 2.9%). On a scale of 1 (*Very Liberal*) to 6 (*Very Conservative*), the average political identification was 3.76 (*SD* = 1.28, *Range* 1-6).

Analytic Strategy

In Study 1, we used a series of multiple regressions to examine the relationships between White guilt, White shame, and each of the racial justice engagement outcomes when participants were not first presented with any information about White privilege. Thus, this study serves as an initial exploration of how White guilt and White shame predict racial justice outcomes

before introducing primes or other manipulations. Racial justice engagement outcomes included cognitive (i.e., support for affirmative action; image threat; modern racism), affective (i.e., receptive and defensive race related affect; implicit positive and negative affect), and behavioral (i.e., willingness to confront White privilege; willingness to self-educate about White privilege; willingness to discuss White privilege; and willingness to take classes about White privilege). We used a three-step process where White guilt and shame were first entered into the models as individual predictors and then were tested as simultaneous predictors. Each racial justice engagement outcome was examined using a separate series of regression models, and all predictor variables were mean centered prior to conducting analysis. As White privilege awareness was administered to participants at the end of the survey, we also tested a series of models predicting White privilege awareness as an outcome variable.

Results

Correlations and descriptive statistics for Study 1 are presented in Table 4. First, consistent with Hypothesis 1 and the results of previous studies, we found a positive association White guilt and White shame ($r = .74$, $p < .05$). Second, we examined the relationships between White guilt, White shame, and each racial justice engagement outcome separately.

White privilege awareness. Results for White privilege awareness are reported in Table 5. In Step 1, we tested White guilt as a single predictor of White privilege awareness; we found it was a significant positive predictor ($b = .39$, $SE = .08$, $p < .05$). In Step 2, we tested White shame as a single predictor of

White privilege awareness and found it was also a significant positive predictor (*b* = .52, *SE* = .08, *p* < .05). In Step 3, we added both White guilt and White shame into the model to test them as simultaneous predictors of White privilege awareness. In this model, White shame (*b* = .45, *SE* = .12, *p* < .001) but not White guilt (*b* = .09, *SE* = .11, *ns*) was a significant predictor of White privilege awareness. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported, as both White guilt and shame were positive predictors when tested in separate models, but only White shame was a significant predictor of White privilege awareness when both variables were included in the model. For a visual summary of the final model, see Figure 5.

Support for affirmative action. Results for support for affirmative action are reported in Table 6. In Step 1, we tested White guilt as a single predictor of support for affirmative action; we found it was a significant positive predictor (*b* = .27, *SE* = .06, *p* < .05). In Step 2, we tested White shame as a single predictor of support for affirmative action and found it was also a significant positive predictor (*b* = .34, *SE* = .07, *p* < .05). In Step 3, we added both White guilt and White shame into the model to test them as simultaneous predictors of support for affirmative action. In this model, White shame (*b* = .27, *SE* = .10, *p* < .05) but not White guilt (*b* = .09, *SE* = .09, *ns*) was a significant predictor of support for affirmative action. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported, as both White guilt and shame were positive predictors when tested in separate models, but only White shame was a significant predictor of support for

affirmative action when both variables were included in the model. For a visual summary of the final model, see Figure 6.

Image Threat. Results for image threat are reported in Table 7. In Step 1, we tested White guilt as a single predictor of image threat; we found it was a significant positive predictor (b = .32, SE = .08, p < .05). In Step 2, we tested White shame as a single predictor of image threat and found it was also a significant positive predictor (b = .45, SE = .09, p < .05). In Step 3, we added both White guilt and White shame into the model to test them as simultaneous predictors of image threat. In this model, White shame (b = .40, SE = .13, p < .05) but not White guilt (b = .06, SE = .12, *ns*) was a significant predictor of image threat. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported, as both White guilt and shame were positive predictors when tested in separate models, but only White shame was a significant predictor of image threat when both variables were included in the model. For a visual summary of the final model, see Figure 7.

Modern racism. Results for modern racism are reported in Table 8. In Step 1, we tested White guilt as a single predictor of modern racism; we found it was a significant negative predictor (b = -.35, SE = .10, p < .05). In Step 2, we tested White shame as a single predictor of modern racism and found it was also a significant negative predictor (b = -.53, SE = .10, p < .05). In Step 3, we added both White guilt and White shame into the model to test them as simultaneous predictors of modern racism. In this model, White shame (b = -.53, SE = .15, p < .05) but not White guilt (b = .00, SE = .14, *ns*) was a significant predictor of modern racism. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported, as both White guilt

and shame were negative predictors when tested in separate models, but only White shame was a significant predictor of modern racism when both variables were included in the model. For a visual summary of the final model, see Figure 8.

Receptive race related affect. Results for receptive race related affect are reported in Table 9. In Step 1, we tested White guilt as a single predictor of receptive race related affect; we found it was a significant positive predictor (b = .42, SE = .09, $p < .05$). In Step 2, we tested White shame as a single predictor of receptive race related affect and found it was also a significant positive predictor (b = .48, SE = .10, $p < .05$). In Step 3, we added both White guilt and White shame into the model to test them as simultaneous predictors of receptive race related affect. In this model, neither White shame (b = .30, SE = .15, $p < .05$) nor White guilt (b = .22, SE = .13, *ns*) were significant predictors of receptive race related affect. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported, as both White guilt and shame were positive predictors when tested in separate models, but neither was a significant predictor of receptive race related affect when both variables were included in the model. For a visual summary of the final model, see Figure 9.

Defensive race related affect. Results for defensive race related affect are reported in Table 10. In Step 1, we tested White guilt as a single predictor of defensive race related affect; we found it was not a significant predictor (b = -.00, SE = .08, *ns*). In Step 2, we tested White shame as a single predictor of defensive race related affect and found it was also not a significant predictor (b = -.04, SE =

.08, *ns*). In Step 3, we added both White guilt and White shame into the model to test them as simultaneous predictors of defensive race related affect. In this model, neither White shame (*b* = -.08, *SE* = .13, *ns*) nor White guilt (*b* = .05, *SE* = .11, *ns*) were significant predictors of defensive race related affect. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported, as neither White guilt nor White shame were significant predictors of defensive race related affect. For a visual summary of the final model, see Figure 10.

Implicit positive affect. Results for implicit positive affect are reported in Table 11. In Step 1, we tested White guilt as a single predictor of implicit positive affect; we found it was not a significant predictor (*b* = .00, *SE* = .04, *ns*). In Step 2, we tested White shame as a single predictor of implicit positive affect and found it was also not a significant predictor (*b* = .01, *SE* = .05, *ns*). In Step 3, we added both White guilt and White shame into the model to test them as simultaneous predictors of implicit positive affect. In this model, neither White shame (*b* = .03, *SE* = .07, *ns*) nor White guilt (*b* = -.02, *SE* = .07, *ns*) were significant predictors of implicit positive affect. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported, as neither White guilt nor White shame were significant predictors of implicit positive affect. For a visual summary of the final model, see Figure 11.

Implicit negative affect. Results for implicit negative affect are reported in Table 12. In Step 1, we tested White guilt as a single predictor of implicit negative affect; we found it was not a significant predictor (*b* = -.01, *SE* = .04, *ns*). In Step 2, we tested White shame as a single predictor of implicit negative affect and found it was also not a significant predictor (*b* = -.02, *SE* = .04, *ns*). In Step

3, we added both White guilt and White shame into the model to test them as simultaneous predictors of implicit negative affect. In this model, neither White shame (b = -.03, SE = .07, *ns*) nor White guilt (b = .01, SE = .06, *ns*) were significant predictors of implicit negative affect. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported, as neither White guilt nor White shame were significant predictors of implicit negative affect. For a visual summary of the final model, see Figure 12.

Willingness to confront White privilege. Results for willingness to confront White privilege are reported in Table 13. In Step 1, we tested White guilt as a single predictor of willingness to confront White privilege; we found it was a significant positive predictor (b = .36, SE = .06, p < .05). In Step 2, we tested White shame as a single predictor of willingness to confront White privilege and found it was also a significant positive predictor (b = .44, SE = .07, p < .05). In Step 3, we added both White guilt and White shame into the model to test them as simultaneous predictors of willingness to confront White privilege. In this model, White shame (b = .32, SE = .10, p < .05) but not White guilt (b = .14, SE = .09, *ns*) was a significant predictor of willingness to confront White privilege. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported, as both White guilt and shame were positive predictors when tested in separate models, but only White shame was a significant predictor of willingness to confront White privilege when both variables were included in the model. For a visual summary of the final model, see Figure 13.

Willingness to self-educate about White privilege. Results for willingness to self-educate about White privilege are reported in Table 14. In

Step 1, we tested White guilt as a single predictor of willingness to self-educate about White privilege; we found it was a significant positive predictor (b = .40, SE = .11, p < .05). In Step 2, we tested White shame as a single predictor of willingness to self-educate about White privilege and found it was also a significant positive predictor (b = .39, SE = .13, p < .05). In Step 3, we added both White guilt and White shame into the model to test them as simultaneous predictors of willingness to self-educate about White privilege. In this model, neither White shame (b = .13, SE = .19, *ns*) nor White guilt (b = .31, SE = .17, *ns*) were significant predictors of willingness to self-educate about White privilege. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported, as both White guilt and shame were positive predictors when tested in separate models, but neither were significant predictors of willingness to self-educate about White privilege when both variables were included in the model. For a visual summary of the final model, see Figure 14.

Willingness to discuss White privilege. Results for willingness to discuss White privilege are reported in Table 15. In Step 1, we tested White guilt as a single predictor of willingness to discuss White privilege; we found it was a significant positive predictor (b = .27, SE = .11, p < .05). In Step 2, we tested White shame as a single predictor of willingness to discuss White privilege and found it was also a significant positive predictor (b = .37, SE = .13, p < .05). In Step 3, we added both White guilt and White shame into the model to test them as simultaneous predictors of willingness to discuss White privilege. In this model, neither White shame (b = .32, SE = .19, *ns*) nor White guilt (b = .06, SE = .17, *ns*)

were significant predictors of willingness to discuss White privilege. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported, as both White guilt and shame were positive predictors when tested in separate models, but neither were significant predictors of willingness to discuss White privilege when both variables were included in the model. For a visual summary of the final model, see Figure 15.

Willingness take classes about White privilege. Results for willingness to take classes about White privilege are reported in Table 16. In Step 1, we tested White guilt as a single predictor of willingness to take classes about White privilege; we found it was a significant positive predictor (b = .39, SE = .11, p < .05). In Step 2, we tested White shame as a single predictor of willingness to take classes about White privilege and found it was also a significant positive predictor (b = .44, SE = .12, p < .05). In Step 3, we added both White guilt and White shame into the model to test them as simultaneous predictors of willingness to take classes about White privilege. In this model, neither White shame (b = .26, SE = .18, *ns*) nor White guilt (b = .22, SE = .16, *ns*) were significant predictors of willingness to take classes about White privilege. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported, as both White guilt and shame were positive predictors when tested in separate models, but neither were significant predictors of willingness to take classes about White privilege when both variables were included in the model. For a visual summary of the final model, see Figure 16.

Discussion

Study 1 used a series of multiple regressions to examine the relationships between White guilt, White shame, and each of the racial justice engagement

outcomes when participants were not first presented with any information about White privilege. Hypothesis 1, that White guilt and White shame would be positively associated, was fully supported ($r = .74$, $p < .05$). Hypothesis 2, that White guilt would be positively associated and White shame would be negatively associated with each racial justice outcome, was partially supported. First, contrary to Hypothesis 2 that predicted a negative association, White shame was positively associated with many racial justice outcomes and appeared to operate similar to White guilt. Second, findings indicate that White guilt and White shame both separately predict a number of racial justice outcomes when participants are not first given any information about White privilege. This was true for nine of the twelve racial justice engagement outcomes. For the other three racial justice outcomes (defensive race related affect, implicit positive affect, and implicit negative affect), neither White shame nor White guilt showed any significant association. Thus, in Study 1, White guilt and shame seemed to be consistently associated with cognitive (i.e., White privilege awareness, support for affirmative action, image threat, and modern racism) and behavioral (i.e. willingness to confront White privilege, willingness to self-educate about White privilege, willingness to discuss White privilege, and willingness to take classes about White privilege) outcomes. However, both were less reliably associated with affective racial justice engagement outcomes, as they only showed significant associations with receptive race related affect. Additionally, although both White shame and White guilt showed a number of significant associations with racial justice engagement outcomes when tested in separate models, when

both White guilt and shame are included in the same models, White shame frequently predicted racial justice engagement over and above White guilt. This was true for six of the nine racial justice engagement outcomes that White guilt and White shame predicted separately. The exceptions were receptive race related affect, willingness to self-educate about White privilege, and willingness to take classes about White privilege, for which White guilt and shame effectively canceled each other out when they were entered into the model together. The finding that White shame actually functioned as a positive predictor of most racial justice engagement outcomes rather than a negative predictor is striking, as it is counter to our hypotheses and the existing literature. This finding is discussed in greater depth below in the General Discussion. Study 1 established these relationships when participants were not first presented with any information about White privilege; in Study 2, we examined these associations after participants completed a measure assessing their awareness of White privilege.

Study 2

Participants

All participants (n = 103) were current students enrolled in introductory psychology courses at DePaul University. The average age was 19.59 (SD = 1.38, *Range* 18-24). All participants self-identified as White or Caucasian. 73 participants identified as female (70.9%), and 30 participants identified as male (29.1%). Regarding year in college, most participants were in their first year (n = 37, 35.9%), followed by second (n = 32, 31.1%), third (n = 21, 20.4%), fourth (n = 12, 11.7%), and fifth year or beyond (n = 1, 1.0%). On a scale of 1 (*Very*

Liberal) to 6 (*Very Conservative*), the average political identification was 4.14 (*SD* = 1.03, *Range* 1-6).

Analytic Strategy

In Study 2, we used a series of multiple regressions to examine the relationships between White privilege awareness, White guilt and shame, and all nine racial justice engagement outcomes separately. Racial justice engagement outcomes included cognitive (i.e., support for affirmative action; image threat; modern racism), affective (i.e., receptive and defensive race related affect; implicit positive and negative affect), and behavioral (i.e., willingness to confront White privilege; willingness to self-educate about White privilege; willingness to discuss White privilege; and willingness to take classes about White privilege). We used an approach to establishing multiple mediation consistent with MacKinnon (2008), who notes that four regression equations are necessary to investigate a two-mediator model. The first equation, $Y = i_1 + cX + e_1$, examines the direct effect of the independent variable (in this case, White privilege awareness) on the dependent variable (in this case, each racial justice engagement outcome) without controlling for either mediator. This establishes whether or not there is a relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable, which is a necessary condition of mediation. The second equation, $Y = i_2 + c'X + b_1M_1 + b_2M_2 + e_2$, examines the association between the independent variable (White privilege awareness) and the dependent variable (each racial justice outcome) while controlling for both mediators (White guilt and White shame). This establishes two conditions of mediation: whether there is

a relationship between the mediators and the independent variable, and whether the association between the independent variable and the dependent variable drops (as in partial mediation) or becomes nonsignificant (as in full mediation). The third and fourth equations, $M_1 = i_3 + a_1X + e_3$ and $M_2 = i_4 + a_2X + e_4$, examine the associations between the independent variable (White privilege awareness) and each of the two mediators (White guilt and White shame) in separate equations. This establishes the final condition of mediation, which is that there is a relationship between the independent variable and the mediating variables.

In our analytic approach, we examined both single and dual mediation models. Each racial justice engagement outcome was examined using a separate series of regression models, and all variables were mean centered prior to conducting analysis. In step one, we examine the relationships between White privilege awareness and White guilt and White shame separately ($M_1 = i_3 + a_1X + e_3$ and $M_2 = i_4 + a_2X + e_4$). In step two, we examined the direct effect of White privilege awareness on each racial justice engagement outcome ($Y = i_1 + cX + e_1$). In step three, we added White guilt to the model ($Y = i_2 + c'X + b_1M_1 + e_2$), thus examining White guilt as a single mediator. In step four, we examine White shame as a single mediator ($Y = i_2 + c'X + b_2M_2 + e_2$). In step five, we examine White guilt and shame as dual mediators, which shows how each White guilt and White shame predict racial justice outcomes while controlling for each other. Together, these regressions allow us to test each of our four hypotheses. Finally, in Step 6 we examine the total and separate indirect

effects for White guilt and shame using 95% confidence intervals (Preacher & Hays, 2008). This approach to multiple mediation allows us to examine the relative magnitude of the specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame separately (Preacher & Hayes 2008).

Results

Correlations and descriptive statistics for Study 2 are presented in Table 17. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, we found a positive association White guilt and White shame (r = .77, p < .05). The strong association between White guilt and White shame supports our strategy of examining double mediation to examine how each predicts racial justice outcomes while controlling for the other. First, we examined the relationships between White privilege awareness, White guilt, and White shame. We found that White privilege awareness was a moderate predictor of both White guilt (b = .27, SE = .09, p < .05) and White shame (b = .26, SE = .09, p < .05), thus providing the necessary conditions to explore mediation. This also provides support for Hypothesis 3 that shame and guilt would be positively associated with White privilege awareness. Second, as reported in detail below, White privilege awareness was positively associated with each racial justice outcome, with the exception of a negative association with modern racism (consistent with our predictions) and no significant association with defensive race related affect and implicit positive and negative affect. Together, these findings fully support Hypothesis 2 for most racial justice engagement outcomes. Results for single mediation (Steps 3 and 4), double mediation (Step 5), and total and separate indirect effects using 95% confidence

intervals are presented below for each racial justice engagement outcome separately.

Support for affirmative action. As reported in Table 18, White privilege awareness was positively associated with support for affirmative action (b = .36, SE = .05, p < .05). To test guilt as a single mediator, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with support for affirmative action (b = .21, SE = .05, p < .05), which supports Hypothesis 2. The addition of White guilt reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = .31, SE = .05, p < .05), indicating guilt as a partial mediator, providing preliminary rationale for Hypothesis 4. Next, to test shame as a single mediator, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with support for affirmative action (b = .24, SE = .06, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict support for affirmative action. The addition of White shame reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = .30, SE = .05, p < .05), indicating shame as a partial mediator. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as dual mediators. In this model including both White shame and guilt, the effect for White privilege awareness was reduced (b = .30, SE = .05, p < .05), indicating that shame and guilt are partial mediators. However, results showed that when both White shame and guilt were in the models, White shame was a significant predictor of support for affirmative action (b = .18, SE = .08, p < .05), but White guilt was not (b = .07, SE = .08, *ns*). Thus, Hypothesis 4 was partially supported in that White shame but not White guilt mediates the relationship between White privilege

awareness and support for affirmative action when both shame and guilt are included in the model. Overall, these results show that shame, guilt, and the shared variance between the two serve to partially mediate the association between White privilege awareness and support for affirmative action. Also, White shame continues to predict support for affirmative action, even after controlling for White guilt, whereas White guilt does not predict over-and-above White shame. For a visual summary of the double mediation, please see Figure 17.

In Step 6, we used another approach to examining multiple mediation: using bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results based on this approach were consistent with the dual mediation approach using regression conducted in Step 5. The total indirect effects for both White guilt and White shame were significant (i.e., *IE* = indirect effect) (*IEgs* = .07, *SE* = .03, *Z* = 2.49, $p < .05$). However, examination of the specific indirect effects showed that neither the indirect effect for White shame (*IEs* = .05, *SE* = .03, *Z* = 1.76, $p < .05$) nor the indirect effect for White guilt (*IEg*= .02, *SE* = .02, *Z* = 0.86, *ns*) were significant. Examination of the contrast between the indirect effects of White guilt and shame was not significant ($\mathbf{f}_c$ = -.03, *SE* = .04, *Z* = -0.67, *ns*). Taken together, findings show that White guilt and shame both positively predict support for affirmative action when considered as single mediators; however, when both are entered into the model, White guilt is not significant using either

approach and White shame is only significant using the regression approach to mediation, not the bootstrapped confidence intervals.

Image threat. As reported in Table 19, White privilege awareness was positively associated with image threat (b = .23, SE = .08, p < .05). To test guilt as a single mediator, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with image threat (b = .36, SE = .07, p < .05), which supports Hypothesis 2. The addition of White guilt reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = .13, SE = .07, *ns*), indicating guilt as a full mediator and providing preliminary rationale for Hypothesis 4. Next, to test shame as a single mediator, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with image threat (b = .34, SE = .08, p < .05). The addition of White shame also reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = .13, SE = .07, *ns*), indicating shame as a full mediator. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as dual mediators. In this model including both White shame and guilt, the effect for White privilege awareness was reduced (b = .12, SE = .07, *ns*), indicating that shame and guilt are full mediators. However, results showed that when both White shame and guilt were in the models, White guilt was a significant predictor of image threat (b = .25, SE = .11, p < .05), but White shame was not (b = .15, SE = .11, *ns*). Thus, Hypothesis 4 was partially supported in that White guilt but not White shame fully mediates the relationship between White privilege awareness and image threat when both shame and guilt are included in the model. Overall, these results show that shame, guilt, and the shared variance between the two serve to fully mediate the association between White privilege

awareness and image threat. Also, White guilt continues to predict image threat, even after controlling for White shame, whereas White shame does not predict over-and-above White guilt. For a visual summary of the double mediation see Figure 18.

In Step 6 we used bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results based on this approach were inconsistent with the dual mediation approach using regression conducted in Step 5. The total indirect effects for both White guilt and White shame were significant (i.e., *IE* = indirect effect) (*IEgs* = .11, *SE* = .04, *Z* = 2.61, $p < .05$). However, examination of the specific indirect effects showed neither indirect effect for White guilt (*IEg* = .07, *SE* = .04, *Z* = 1.68, *ns*) nor the indirect effect for White shame (*IEs*= .04, *SE* = .03, *Z* = 1.21, *ns*) were significant. Examination of the contrast between the indirect effects of White guilt and shame was not significant ($\mathbf{f}_c$ = .03, *SE* = .06, *Z* = 0.48, *ns*). Taken together, findings show that White guilt and shame both positively predict image threat when considered as single mediators; however, when both are entered into the model, White shame is not significant using either approach and White guilt is only a significant predictor using the regression approach to mediation, not using the bootstrapped confidence intervals.

Modern racism. As reported in Table 20, White privilege awareness was negatively associated with modern racism (*b* = -.85, *SE* = .08, $p < .05$). To test guilt as a single mediator, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was not significantly associated with modern racism (*b* = -0.15, *SE* = .08, *ns*), which does

not support Hypothesis 2. The addition of White guilt slightly reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = -.81, SE = .08, p < .05). Next, to test shame as a single mediator, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was negatively associated with modern racism (b = -.24, SE = .08, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would positively predict modern racism. The addition of White shame reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = -.79, SE = .08, p < .05), indicating shame as a partial mediator. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as dual mediators. In this model including both White shame and guilt, the effect for White privilege awareness was reduced (b = -.79, SE = .08, p < .05), indicating that shame is a partial mediator. Results showed that when both White shame and guilt were in the models, White shame was a significant predictor of modern racism (b = -.327, SE = .13, p < .05), but White guilt was not (b = .05, SE = .12, *ns*). Thus, Hypothesis 4 was partially supported in that White shame but not White guilt mediates the relationship between White privilege awareness and modern racism when both shame and guilt are included in the model. Overall, these results show that White shame, but not White guilt, partially mediates the association between White privilege awareness and modern racism. Also, White shame continues to predict modern racism, even after controlling for White guilt, whereas White guilt does not predict on its own or over-and-above White shame. For a visual summary of the double mediation, please see Figure 19.

In Step 6, we used another approach to examining multiple mediation: using bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific

indirect effects of White guilt and White shame (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results based on this approach were inconsistent with the dual mediation approach using regression conducted in Step 5. The total indirect effects for both White guilt and White shame were not significant (i.e., *IE* = indirect effect) (*IEgs* = -.06, *SE* = .03, *Z* = -1.81, *ns*). Examination of the specific indirect effects showed that neither the indirect effect for White shame (*IEs* = -.07, *SE* = .04, *Z* = -1.72, *ns*) nor the indirect effect for White guilt (*IEg*= .01, *SE* = .03, *Z* = 0.40, *ns*) were significant. Examination of the contrast between the indirect effects of White guilt and shame was not significant ($\mathbf{f}_c$ = .08, *SE* = .07, *Z* = 1.23, *ns*). Taken together, findings show that White shame but not White guilt negatively predicts modern racism when considered as a single mediator and when both guilt and shame are entered into the model; however, White shame is only a significant predictor using the regression approach to mediation, not the bootstrapped confidence intervals.

Receptive race related affect. As reported in Table 21, White privilege awareness was positively associated with receptive race related affect (*b* = .48, *SE* = .10, $p < .05$). To test guilt as a single mediator, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with receptive race related affect (*b* = 0.51, *SE* = .09, $p < .05$), which supports Hypothesis 2. The addition of White guilt reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (*b* = .34, *SE* = .09, $p < .05$), indicating guilt as a partial mediator, providing preliminary rationale for Hypothesis 4. Next, to test shame as a single mediator, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with receptive race related

affect (b = .56, SE = .09, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict receptive race related affect. The addition of White shame reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = .34, SE = .08, p < .05), indicating shame as a partial mediator. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as dual mediators. In this model including both White shame and guilt, the effect for White privilege awareness was reduced (b = .32, SE = .08, p < .05), indicating that shame and guilt are partial mediators. When both White shame and guilt were in the models, White shame (b = .36, SE = .13, p < .05) but not White guilt (b = .25, SE = .13, p < .05) was a significant predictor of receptive race related affect. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was supported in that White shame and White guilt partially mediate the relationship between White privilege awareness and receptive race related affect when considered as single mediators; however, when both shame and guilt are included in the model, only White shame remains a significant predictor. Overall, these results show that shame, guilt, and the shared variance between the two serve to partially mediate the association between White privilege awareness and receptive race related affect. For a visual summary of the double mediation, please see Figure 20.

In Step 6, we used another approach to examining multiple mediation: using bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results based on this approach were consistent with the dual mediation approach using regression conducted in Step 5. The total indirect effects for both White

guilt and White shame were significant (i.e., *IE* = indirect effect) (*IEgs* = .16, *SE* = .06, *Z* = 2.77, $p < .05$). Examination of the specific indirect effects showed the indirect effect for White shame (*IEs* = .09, *SE* = .05, *Z* = 1.98, $p < .05$) was significant, while the indirect effect for White guilt (*IEg*= .07, *SE* = .04, *Z* = 1.65, *ns*) was not. Examination of the contrast between the indirect effects of White guilt and shame was not significant ($\mathbf{f}_c$ = -.02, *SE* = .07, *Z* = -0.36, *ns*), indicating that the indirect effects of White guilt and White shame were not significantly different. Taken together, findings show that White guilt and shame both positively predict receptive race related affect when considered as single mediators; however, when both are entered into the model, White shame is a significant predictor using both approaches while White guilt is only a significant predictor using the regression approach to mediation, not using the bootstrapped confidence intervals.

Defensive race related affect. As reported in Table 22, White privilege awareness was negatively associated with defensive race related affect (*b* = -.26, *SE* = .08, $p < .05$). To test guilt as a single mediator, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was not significantly associated with defensive race related affect (*b* = 0. 09, *SE* = .09, *ns*), and thus did not support Hypothesis 2. The addition of White guilt increased the effect of White privilege awareness (*b* = -.28, *SE* = .09, $p <$ .05), which also did not provide support for Hypothesis 4. Next, to test shame as a single mediator, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was not significantly associated with defensive race related affect (*b* = .10, *SE* = .09, *ns*). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that

White shame would positively predict defensive race related affect. The addition of White shame increased the effect of White privilege awareness (b = -.29, SE = .09, $p < .05$) and did not support shame as a potential mediator. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as dual mediators. In this model including both White shame and guilt, the effect for White privilege awareness increased (b = -.29, SE = .09, $p < .05$). When both White shame and guilt were in the models, neither White shame (b = .06, SE = .14, *ns*) nor White guilt (b = .04, SE = .13, *ns*) were significant predictors of defensive race related affect. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported in that White shame and White guilt do not mediate the relationship between White privilege awareness and defensive race related affect separately or when both shame and guilt are included in the model. For a visual summary of the double mediation, please see Figure 21.

In Step 6, we used another approach to examining multiple mediation: using bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results based on this approach were consistent with the dual mediation approach using regression conducted in Step 5. The total indirect effects for both White guilt and White shame were not significant (i.e., *IE* = indirect effect) (*IEgs* = .03, SE = .03, Z = 1.03, *ns*). Examination of the specific indirect effects showed the indirect effects for White shame (*IEs* = .02, SE = .04, Z = 0.47, *ns*) and White guilt (*IEg*= .01, SE = .04, Z = 0.30, *ns*) were both not significant. Examination of the contrast between the indirect effects of White guilt and shame was not significant ($\mathbf{f}_c$ = -.01, SE = .07, Z = -0.09, *ns*), indicating that the indirect effects of

White guilt and White shame were not significantly different. Taken together, findings show that neither White guilt nor shame predict defensive race related affect as single mediators as well as when both variables are entered into the model.

Implicit positive affect. As reported in Table 23, White privilege awareness was not associated with implicit positive affect (*b* = .06, *SE* = .05, *ns*). To test guilt as a single mediator, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was not significantly associated with implicit positive affect (*b* = 0.07, *SE* = .05, *ns*), and thus did not support Hypothesis 2. White privilege awareness also remained nonsignificant in this model (*b* = 0.04, *SE* = .05, *ns*). Next, to test shame as a single mediator, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was not significantly associated with implicit positive affect (*b* = .05, *SE* = .05, *ns*). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict implicit positive affect. White privilege awareness was also nonsignificant in this model (*b* = 0.05, *SE* = .05, *ns*). Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as dual mediators. In this model including both White shame and guilt, neither White shame (*b* =.00, *SE* = .08, *ns*) nor White guilt (*b* = .07, *SE* = .08, *ns*) were significant predictors of implicit positive affect. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported in that White privilege awareness does not predict implicit positive affect, and White shame and White guilt do not mediate the relationship between White privilege awareness and implicit positive affect separately or when both shame and guilt are included in the model. For a visual summary of the double mediation, please see Figure 22.

In Step 6, we used another approach to examining multiple mediation: using bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results based on this approach were consistent with the dual mediation approach using regression conducted in Step 5. The total indirect effects for both White guilt and White shame were not significant (i.e., *IE* = indirect effect) (*IEgs* = .02, *SE* = .02, *Z* = 1. 13, *ns*). Examination of the specific indirect effects showed the indirect effects for White shame (*IEs* = .00, *SE* = .02, *Z* = 0.01, *ns*) and White guilt (*IEg*= .02, *SE* = .02, *Z* = 0.82, *ns*) were both not significant. Examination of the contrast between the indirect effects of White guilt and shame was not significant ($\mathbf{f}_c$ = .02, *SE* = .04, *Z* = 0.44, *ns*), indicating that the indirect effects of White guilt and White shame were not significantly different. Taken together, findings show that neither White guilt nor shame predict implicit positive affect as single mediators as well as when both variables are entered into the model.

Implicit negative affect. As reported in Table 24, White privilege awareness was not associated with implicit negative affect (*b* = .09, *SE* = .05, *ns*). To test guilt as a single mediator, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was not significantly associated with implicit negative affect (*b* = 0.10, *SE* = .05, *ns*), and thus did not support Hypothesis 2. White privilege awareness also remained nonsignificant in this model (*b* = 0.06, *SE* = .05, *ns*). Next, to test shame as a single mediator, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with implicit negative affect (*b* = .13, *SE* = .05, $p < .05$). This finding supported our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would

positively predict implicit negative affect. White privilege awareness was also nonsignificant in this model (b = 0.06, SE = .05, *ns*). Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as dual mediators. In this model including both White shame and guilt, neither White shame (b = .13, SE = .08, *ns*) nor White guilt (b = .00, SE = .08, *ns*) were significant predictors of implicit negative affect. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported in that White privilege awareness does not predict implicit negative affect, and White shame and White guilt do not mediate the relationship between White privilege awareness and implicit negative affect when both shame and guilt are included in the model. For a visual summary of the double mediation, please see Figure 23.

In Step 6, we used another approach to examining multiple mediation: using bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results based on this approach were consistent with the dual mediation approach using regression conducted in Step 5. The total indirect effects for both White guilt and White shame were significant (i.e., *IE* = indirect effect) (*IEgs* = .03, SE = .02, Z = 1.81, $p < .05$). However, examination of the specific indirect effects showed the indirect effects for White shame (*IEs* = .03, SE = .02, Z = 1.43, *ns*) and White guilt (*IEg*= .00, SE = .02, Z = 0.02, *ns*) were both not significant. Examination of the contrast between the indirect effects of White guilt and shame was not significant ($\mathbf{f}_c$ = -.03, SE = .04, Z = -0.83, *ns*), indicating that the indirect effects of White guilt and White shame were not significantly different. Taken together, findings show that neither White guilt nor shame predict implicit

negative affect as single mediators as well as when both variables are entered into the model.

Willingness to confront White privilege. As reported in Table 25, White privilege awareness was positively associated with willingness to confront White privilege (b = .41, SE = .08, p < .05). To test guilt as a single mediator, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with willingness to confront White privilege (b = .32, SE = .07, p < .05), which supports Hypothesis 2. The addition of White guilt reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = .32, SE = .07, p < .05), indicating guilt as a partial mediator, providing preliminary rationale for Hypothesis 4. Next, to test shame as a single mediator, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with willingness to confront White privilege (b = .32, SE = .08, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict willingness to confront White privilege. The addition of White shame reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = .32, SE = .07, p < .05), indicating shame as a partial mediator. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as dual mediators. In this model including both White shame and guilt, the effect for White privilege awareness was reduced (b = .31, SE = .07, p < .05), indicating that shame and guilt are partial mediators. However, results showed that when both White shame and guilt were in the models, neither White guilt (b = .20, SE = .11, p < .05) nor White shame (b = .17, SE = .11, *ns*) were significant predictors of willingness to confront White privilege. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was partially supported in that White guilt but not

White shame mediates the relationship between White privilege awareness and willingness to confront White privilege when they are tested separately, but neither is a significant predictor when both are included in the model. Overall, these results show that shame, guilt, and the shared variance between the two serve to partially mediate the association between White privilege awareness and willingness to confront White privilege. However, when both are included in the model, they effectively cancel each other out. For a visual summary of the double mediation, please see Figure 24.

In Step 6, we used another approach to examining multiple mediation: using bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results based on this approach were consistent with the dual mediation approach using regression conducted in Step 5. The total indirect effects for both White guilt and White shame were significant (i.e., *IE* = indirect effect) (*IEgs* = .10, *SE* = .04, *Z* = 2. 56, $p < .05$). However, examination of the specific indirect effects showed neither the indirect effect for White shame (*IEs* = .04, *SE* = .03, *Z* = 1.31, *ns*) nor the indirect effect for White guilt (*IEg*= .05, *SE* = .04, *Z* = 1.56, *ns*) were significant. At the same time, the 95% CI for indirect effect of White guilt did not include zero likely because these two methods use slightly different strategies for assessing significance; for a more conservative approach we remain guided by the non-significant *Z*. Examination of the contrast between the indirect effects of White guilt and shame was not significant ($\mathbf{f}_c$ = .01, *SE* = .06, *Z* = 0.20, *ns*), indicating the specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame were not

significantly different. Thus, although the total indirect effects were significant, neither of the specific indirect effects were significant. Taken together, findings show that White guilt and shame both positively predict willingness to confront White privilege when considered as single mediators; however, when both are entered into the model, White guilt is only a significant predictor using the regression approach to mediation, not using the bootstrapped confidence intervals.

Willingness to self-educate about White privilege. As reported in Table 26, White privilege awareness was positively associated with willingness to self-educate about White privilege (b = .58, SE = .11, p < .05). To test guilt as a single mediator, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with willingness to self-educate about White privilege (b = 0.42, SE = .11, p < .05), which supports Hypothesis 2. The addition of White guilt reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = .47, SE = .11, p < .05), indicating guilt as a partial mediator, providing preliminary rationale for Hypothesis 4. Next, to test shame as a single mediator, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with willingness to self-educate about White privilege (b = .43, SE = .12, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict willingness to self-educate about White privilege. The addition of White shame reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = .47, SE = .11, p < .05), indicating shame as a partial mediator. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as dual mediators. In this model including both White shame and guilt, the effect for White privilege awareness was reduced (b = .45, SE = .11, p < .05), indicating

that shame and guilt are partial mediators. When both White shame and guilt were in the models, neither White shame (b = .25, SE = .18, *ns*) nor White guilt (b = .23, SE = .17, *ns*) were significant predictors of willingness to self-educate about White privilege. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported in that White shame and White guilt were both significant as single mediators, but did not mediate the relationship between White privilege awareness and willingness to self-educate about White privilege when both shame and guilt were included in the model. For a visual summary of the double mediation, please see Figure 25.

In Step 6, we used another approach to examining multiple mediation: using bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results based on this approach were consistent with the dual mediation approach using regression conducted in Step 5. The total indirect effects for both White guilt and White shame were significant (i.e., *IE* = indirect effect) (*IEgs* = .13, SE = .05, Z = 2.42, $p < .05$). However, examination of the specific indirect effects showed neither the indirect effect for White shame (*IEs* = .07, SE = .05, Z = 1.29, *ns*) nor White guilt (*IEg*= .06, SE = .05, Z = 1.24, *ns*) were significant. Examination of the contrast between the indirect effects of White guilt and shame was not significant ($\mathbf{f}_c$ = -.00, SE = .09, Z = -0.03, *ns*), indicating that the indirect effects of White guilt and White shame were not significantly different. Taken together, findings show that White guilt and shame both positively predict willingness to self-educate about White privilege as single mediators, but neither is a significant predictor when both variables are entered into the model.

Willingness to discuss White privilege. As reported in Table 27, White privilege awareness was positively associated with willingness to discuss White privilege (b = .44, SE = .13, p < .05). To test guilt as a single mediator, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with willingness to discuss White privilege (b = .33, SE = .13, p < .05), which supports Hypothesis 2. The addition of White guilt reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = .35, SE = .13, p < .05), indicating guilt as a partial mediator, providing preliminary rationale for Hypothesis 4. Next, to test shame as a single mediator, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with willingness to discuss White privilege (b = .53, SE = .13, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict willingness to discuss White privilege. The addition of White shame reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = .30, SE = .13, p < .05), indicating shame as a partial mediator. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as dual mediators. In this model including both White shame and guilt, the effect for White privilege awareness was reduced (b = .31, SE = .13, p < .05), indicating that shame and guilt are partial mediators. However, results showed that when both White shame and guilt were in the models, White shame was a significant predictor of willingness to discuss White privilege (b = .62, SE = .20, p < .05), but White guilt was not (b = -.12, SE = .19, *ns*). Thus, Hypothesis 4 was partially supported in that White shame but not White guilt mediates the relationship between White privilege awareness and willingness to discuss White privilege when both shame and guilt are included in the model. Overall, these

results show that shame, guilt, and the shared variance between the two serve to partially mediate the association between White privilege awareness and willingness to discuss White privilege. Also, White shame continues to predict willingness to discuss White privilege, even after controlling for White guilt, whereas White guilt does not predict over-and-above White shame. For a visual summary of the double mediation, please see Figure 26.

In Step 6, we used another approach to examining multiple mediation: using bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results based on this approach were consistent with the dual mediation approach using regression conducted in Step 5. The total indirect effects for both White guilt and White shame were significant (i.e., *IE* = indirect effect) (*IEgs* = .13, *SE* = .06, *Z* = 2.11, $p < .05$). However, examination of the specific indirect effects showed the indirect effect for White shame was significant (*IEs* = .16, *SE* = .08, *Z* = 2.10, $p < .05$) while the indirect effect for White guilt was not (*IEg*= -.03, *SE* = .05, *Z* = -0.61, *ns*). However, examination of the contrast between the indirect effects of White guilt and shame was not significant ($\mathbf{f}_c$ = -.19, *SE* = .12, *Z* = -1.64, *ns*). These results seem to contradict the examination of specific indirect effects; however, this can occur when one of the specific indirect effects in the contrast is not far enough away from zero (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Thus, although the contrast was likely not significant due to how close the indirect effect of White guilt was to 0, the indirect effect of White shame was significant, while the indirect effect of White guilt was not. Taken together, findings show

that White guilt and shame both positively predict willingness to discuss White privilege when considered as single mediators; however, when both are entered into the model, White shame but not White guilt is a mediator of willingness to discuss White privilege.

Willingness to take classes about White privilege. As reported in Table 28, White privilege awareness was positively associated with willingness to take classes about White privilege (b = .60, SE = .13, p < .05). To test guilt as a single mediator, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with willingness to take classes about White privilege (b = .43, SE = .13, p < .05), which supports Hypothesis 2. The addition of White guilt reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = .48, SE = .13, p < .05), indicating guilt as a partial mediator, providing preliminary rationale for Hypothesis 4. Next, to test shame as a single mediator, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with willingness to take classes about White privilege (b = .50, SE = .13, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict willingness to take classes about White privilege. The addition of White shame reduced the effect of White privilege awareness (b = .46, SE = .12, p < .05), indicating shame as a partial mediator. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as dual mediators. In this model including both White shame and guilt, the effect for White privilege awareness was reduced (b = .45, SE = .12, p < .05), indicating that shame and guilt are partial mediators. However, results showed that when both White shame and guilt were in the models, White shame was a significant

predictor of willingness to take classes about White privilege (b = .38, SE = .19, p < .05), but White guilt was not (b = .15, SE = .19, *ns*). Thus, Hypothesis 4 was partially supported in that White shame but not White guilt mediates the relationship between White privilege awareness and willingness to take classes about White privilege when both shame and guilt are included in the model. Overall, these results show that shame, guilt, and the shared variance between the two serve to partially mediate the association between White privilege awareness and willingness to take classes about White privilege. Also, White shame continues to predict willingness to take classes about White privilege, even after controlling for White guilt, whereas White guilt does not predict over-and-above White shame. For a visual summary of the double mediation, please see Figure 27.

In Step 6, we used another approach to examining multiple mediation: using bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results based on this approach were slightly different than the dual mediation approach using regression conducted in Step 5. The total indirect effects for both White guilt and White shame were significant (i.e., *IE* = indirect effect) (*IEgs* = .14, SE = .06, Z = 2.40, p < .05). However, examination of the specific indirect effects showed neither the indirect effect for White shame (*IEs* = .10, SE = .06, Z = 1.63, *ns*) nor the indirect effect for White guilt (*IEg*= .04, SE = .05, Z = 0.80, *ns*) were significant. Examination of the contrast between the indirect effects of White guilt and shame was not significant ($\mathbf{f}_c$ = -.06, SE = .10, Z = -0.58, *ns*).

Taken together, findings show that White guilt and shame both positively predict willingness to take classes about White privilege when considered as single mediators; however, when both are entered into the model, White guilt is not significant using either approach and White shame is only a significant predictor using the regression approach to mediation, not using the bootstrapped confidence intervals.

Discussion

In Study 2, we used a series of multiple regressions to examine the relationships between White privilege awareness, White guilt and shame, and all nine racial justice engagement outcomes separately. Hypothesis 1 was fully supported, as White guilt and shame were positively associated ($r = .77$, $p < .05$). Hypothesis 3 was largely supported, in that White privilege awareness was positively associated with both White guilt and shame and with most of the racial justice engagement outcomes. As expected we also found a negative association between White privilege awareness and both modern racism and defensive race related affect (which are effectively reverse scored) and no significant association with implicit positive or negative affect. These findings mirror the results of Study 1, as these were two of the three racial justice outcomes that showed no significant associations with White guilt or shame in Study 1. Hypothesis 2 was partially supported, as White guilt was significantly positively associated with most racial justice engagement outcomes (with the exception of modern racism, defensive race related affect, implicit positive affect, and implicit negative affect, with which it showed no association). However, contrary to our prediction in

Hypothesis 2, White shame was significantly associated with all of the same racial justice engagement outcomes as White guilt; it was also significantly positively associated with implicit negative affect and negatively associated with modern racism. The finding that White shame actually functioned as a positive predictor of most racial justice engagement outcomes rather than a negative predictor is striking, as it is counter to our hypotheses and the existing literature. This finding is discussed in greater depth below in the General Discussion.

When we examined the role of White guilt and shame in mediating the relationship between White privilege awareness and racial justice engagement, consistent with Hypothesis 4, we found that White shame more frequently and reliably mediated this relationship than White guilt. When both White guilt and shame were entered into the models, White shame partially mediated the relationship between White privilege awareness and support for affirmative action, modern racism, receptive race related affect, willingness to discuss White privilege, and willingness to take classes about White privilege. These results were not consistent between the regression approach to mediation and the approach using bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame. Using the bootstrapping approach, White shame only remained a significant mediator for receptive race related affect and willingness to discuss White privilege; for support for affirmative action, modern racism, and willingness to take classes about White privilege, the indirect effect of White shame was not significant. This shows that the method of testing mediation may produce slightly different

results; in this study we place more emphasis on results consistent between approaches.

There was some evidence that White guilt mediated the relationship between White privilege awareness and image threat. However, these results were only found using the regression approach to mediation and did not hold using the bootstrapping approach. Overall, both White shame and White guilt separately predict most racial justice engagement outcomes. However, White shame appears to more consistently and reliably mediate the relationship between White privilege awareness and racial justice engagement outcomes than White guilt when both are entered into the model. However, due to the positive association between White shame and most racial justice engagement outcomes, the nature of this mediation is different from what we predicted in Hypothesis 4.

Study 3

Participants

All participants (n = 227) were current students enrolled in introductory psychology courses at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The average age was 19.32 (*SD* = 1.13, *Range* 18-23). All participants self-identified as White or Caucasian. 154 participants identified as female (67.8%), and 73 participants identified as male (32.2%). Regarding year in college, most participants were in their first year (n = 78, 34.4%), followed by second (n = 69, 30.4%), third (n = 45, 19.8%), fourth (n = 31, 13.7%), and fifth year or beyond (n = 3, 1.3%). On a scale of 1 (*Very Liberal*) to 6 (*Very Conservative*), the average political identification was 3.62 (*SD* = 1.21, *Range* 1-6).

Analytic Strategy

In Study 3, we used the approach to mediation outlined by McKinnon (2008) and used in Study 2. We examined both single and dual mediation models; however, the ingroup advantage/outgroup disadvantage manipulation, rather than White privilege awareness, was used as the independent variable where people in the ingroup advantage condition were coded as 1 and those in the outgroup disadvantage condition 0. Otherwise, all mediating and outcome variables in the models remained the same, and we used the same six-step approach to testing mediation. Each racial justice engagement outcome was examined using a separate series of regression models, and all predictor variables were mean centered prior to conducting analysis.

Results

Correlations and descriptive statistics for Study 3 are presented in Table 29. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, we found a positive association between White guilt and White shame (r = .69, p < .05). First, we examined the relationships between the ingroup advantage/outgroup disadvantage condition, White guilt, and White shame. We ran two regressions predicting White guilt and shame separately, using a dummy coded variable for condition with the outgroup disadvantage condition as the reference group. The ingroup advantage condition was not a significant predictor of either White guilt (b = .15, SE = .14, *ns*) or White shame (b = .16, SE = .13, *ns*); thus, we did not have rationale to explore mediation. These findings did not support Hypothesis 3, that ingroup advantage frameworks would be positively associated with White shame, White guilt, and

each racial justice engagement outcome. Despite these findings, we used the same four-step regression process to examine if the ingroup advantage framework directly predicted any of the racial justice engagement outcomes. However, we did not complete Step 6, using bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame (Preacher & Hayes, 2008), as we did not have the necessary conditions to examine mediation.

Support for affirmative action. As reported in Table 30, the ingroup advantage condition was not associated with support for affirmative action (b = -.09, SE = .08, *ns*). To test guilt as a predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with support for affirmative action (b = .28, SE = .04, $p < .05$), which supports Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with support for affirmative action (b = .32, SE = .04, $p < .05$). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict support for affirmative action. Finally, in Step 5 we examined guilt and shame as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, both White shame (b = .21, SE = .05, $p <$. 05) and White guilt (b = .15, SE = .04, $p < .05$) predicted support for affirmative action. In addition, the ingroup advantage condition became a significant predictor in the final model (b = -.15, SE = .07, $p < .05$) and was negatively associated with support for affirmative action. Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship

between the ingroup advantage condition and White guilt and shame. Overall, these results show that White shame and guilt predict support for affirmative action, but do not provide support for White guilt and shame as mediators between the ingroup advantage condition and support for affirmative action. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 28.

Image threat. As reported in Table 31, the ingroup advantage condition was not associated with image threat (b = .09, SE = .12, *ns*). To test guilt as a predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with image threat (b = .36, SE = .05, $p < .05$), which was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that guilt would negatively predict image threat. Next, to test shame as a predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with image threat (b = .45, SE = .05, $p < .05$). This supported our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would positively predict image threat. Finally, in Step 5 we examined guilt and shame as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, both White shame (b = .34, SE = .07, $p <$. 05) and White guilt (b = .15, SE = .07, $p < .05$) predicted image threat. Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the ingroup advantage condition and White guilt and shame. Overall, these results show that White shame and guilt predict image threat, but do not provide support for any relationship between ingroup advantage frameworks and White shame, guilt, or image threat. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 29.

Modern racism. As reported in Table 32, the ingroup advantage condition was not associated with modern racism (b = -.27, SE = .14, *ns*). To test guilt as a predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was negatively associated with modern racism (b = -.39, SE = .06, $p < .05$), which supported Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was negatively associated with modern racism (b = -.55, SE = .06, $p < .05$). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would positively predict modern racism. Finally, in Step 5 we examined guilt and shame as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, White shame negatively predicted modern racism (b = -.48, SE = .09, $p <$. 05), but White guilt was not a significant predictor (b = -.09, SE = .08, *ns*). Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the ingroup advantage condition and White guilt and shame and because only White shame remained a significant predictor when both guilt and shame were entered into the model. Overall, these results show that White shame predicts modern racism, but do not provide support for any relationship between ingroup advantage frameworks and White shame, guilt, or modern racism. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 30.

Receptive race related affect. As reported in Table 33, the ingroup advantage condition was significantly positively associated with receptive race related affect (b = .28, SE = .14, $p < .05$), which supports Hypothesis 3. To test guilt as a predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively

associated with receptive race related affect (b = .45, SE = .06, p < .05) and thus supported Hypothesis 2. The addition of White guilt reduced the effect of the ingroup advantage condition (b = .22, SE = .12, *ns*); however, as there was no association between the ingroup advantage condition and White guilt, the necessary conditions for mediation were not met. Next, to test shame as a predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with receptive race related affect (b = .62, SE = .06, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict receptive race related affect. The addition of White shame reduced the effect of the ingroup advantage condition (b = .62, SE = .06, *ns*); however, as there was no association between the ingroup advantage condition and White shame, the necessary conditions for mediation were not met. Finally, in Step 5 we examined guilt and shame as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, White shame positively predicted receptive race related affect (b = .53, SE = .08, p <. 05), but White guilt was not a significant predictor (b = .11, SE = .07, *ns*). Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was only partially supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the ingroup advantage condition and White guilt and shame and because only White shame remained a significant predictor when both guilt and shame were entered into the model. Overall, these results show that White shame predicts receptive race related affect, but do not provide support for any relationship between ingroup

advantage frameworks and White shame, guilt, or receptive race related affect. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 31.

Defensive race related affect. As reported in Table 34, the ingroup advantage condition was not associated with defensive race related affect (*b* = .02, *SE* = .12, *ns*). To test guilt as a predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was not associated with defensive race related affect (*b* = .09, *SE* = .05, *ns*) and thus did not support Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which also was not associated with defensive race related affect (*b* = .04, *SE* = .06, *ns*) and thus did not support Hypothesis 2. Finally, in Step 5 we examined guilt and shame as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, neither White shame (*b* = -.06, *SE* = .08, *ns*) nor White guilt (*b* = .13, *SE* = .07, *ns*) significantly predicted defensive race related affect. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the ingroup advantage condition and White guilt and shame and because neither White guilt nor White shame were related with defensive race related affect. Overall, these results do not provide support for any relationship between ingroup advantage frameworks and White shame, guilt, or defensive race related affect. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 32.

Implicit positive affect. As reported in Table 35, the ingroup advantage condition was not associated with implicit positive affect (*b* = .01, *SE* = .06, *ns*). To test guilt as a predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was not significantly associated with implicit positive affect (*b* = .05, *SE* = .03, $p < .05$)

and thus did not support Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with implicit positive affect (b = .07, SE = .03, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict implicit positive affect. Finally, in Step 5 we examined guilt and shame as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, neither White shame (b = .06, SE = .04, p <. 05) nor White guilt (b = .01, SE = .04, *ns*) significantly predicted implicit positive affect. Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the ingroup advantage condition and White guilt and shame and because neither guilt nor shame remained a significant predictor when both were entered into the model. Overall, these results show that White shame but not White guilt predicts implicit positive affect when tested separately, but do not provide support for any relationship between ingroup advantage frameworks and White shame, guilt, or implicit positive affect. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 33.

Implicit negative affect. As reported in Table 36, the ingroup advantage condition was not associated with implicit negative affect (b = .06, SE = .06, *ns*). To test guilt as a predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was not associated with implicit negative affect (b = .03, SE = .03, *ns*) and thus did not support Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which also was not associated with implicit negative affect (b = .03, SE = .03, *ns*) and thus did not support Hypothesis 2.

Finally, in Step 5 we examined guilt and shame as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, neither White shame (b = .01, SE = .04, *ns*) nor White guilt (b = .02, SE = .04, *ns*) significantly predicted implicit negative affect. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the ingroup advantage condition and White guilt and shame and because neither White guilt nor White shame were related with implicit negative affect. Overall, these results do not provide support for any relationship between ingroup advantage frameworks and White shame, guilt, or implicit negative affect. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 34.

Willingness to confront White privilege. As reported in Table 37, the ingroup advantage condition was significantly positively associated with willingness to confront White privilege (b = .23, SE = .11, $p < .05$), which supports Hypothesis 3. To test guilt as a predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with willingness to confront White privilege (b = .41, SE = .05, $p < .05$), which supports Hypothesis 2. The addition of White guilt reduced the effect of the ingroup advantage condition (b = .17, SE = .10, *ns*); however, as there was no association between the ingroup advantage condition and White guilt, the necessary conditions for mediation were not met. Next, to test shame as a predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with willingness to confront White privilege (b = .54, SE = .05, $p < .05$). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict willingness to

confront White privilege. The addition of White shame reduced the effect of the ingroup advantage condition (b = .08, SE = .16, *ns*); however, as there was no association between the ingroup advantage condition and White shame, the necessary conditions for mediation were not met. Finally, in Step 5 we examined guilt and shame as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, both White shame (b = .44, SE = .06, p <. 05) and White guilt (b = .13, SE = .06, p < .05) predicted willingness to confront White privilege. White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors. Also, Hypothesis 4 was only partially supported, as the necessary conditions for mediation were not met, but both White guilt and shame predicted willingness to confront White privilege in separate models and when they were tested together. Overall, these results show that White shame and guilt predict willingness to confront White privilege but do not provide support for mediation. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 35.

Willingness to self-educate about White privilege. As reported in Table 38, the ingroup advantage condition was significantly positively associated with willingness to self-educate about White privilege (b = .35, SE = .18, p < .05), which supports Hypothesis 3. To test guilt as a predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with willingness to self-educate about White privilege (b = .48, SE = .08, p < .05) and thus supported Hypothesis 2. The addition of White guilt reduced the effect of the ingroup advantage condition (b = .28, SE = .16, *ns*); however, as there was no association between the ingroup advantage condition and White guilt, the necessary conditions for mediation were

not met. Next, to test shame as a predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with willingness to self-educate about White privilege (b = .72, SE = .08, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict willingness to self-educate about White privilege. The addition of White shame reduced the effect of the ingroup advantage condition (b = .24, SE = .15, *ns*); however, as there was no association between the ingroup advantage condition and White shame, the necessary conditions for mediation were not met. Finally, in Step 5 we examined guilt and shame as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, White shame positively predicted willingness to self-educate about White privilege (b = .68, SE = .11, p <. 05), but White guilt was not a significant predictor (b = .05, SE = .10, *ns*). Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was only partially supported because the necessary conditions for mediation were not met and White shame but not White guilt predicted willingness to self-educate about White privilege when both guilt and shame are entered into the model. Overall, these results show that White shame predicts willingness to self-educate about White privilege but do not provide support for mediation. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 36.

Willingness to discuss White privilege. As reported in Table 39, the ingroup advantage condition was not associated with willingness to discuss White privilege (b = .20, SE = .18, *ns*). To test guilt as a predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with willingness to discuss White

privilege (b = .38, SE = .08, p < .05) and thus supported Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with willingness to discuss White privilege (b = .64, SE = .08, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict willingness to discuss White privilege. Finally, in Step 5 we examined guilt and shame as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, White shame positively predicted willingness to discuss White privilege (b = .68, SE = .12, p <. 05), but White guilt was not a significant predictor (b = -.04, SE = .11, *ns*). Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the ingroup advantage condition and White guilt and shame and because only White shame remained a significant predictor when both guilt and shame were entered into the model. Overall, these results show that White shame predicts willingness to discuss White privilege, but do not provide support for any relationship between ingroup advantage frameworks and White shame, guilt, or willingness to discuss White privilege. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 37.

Willingness to take classes about White privilege. As reported in Table 40, the ingroup advantage condition was not associated with willingness to take classes about White privilege (b = .32, SE = .18, *ns*). To test guilt as a predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with willingness to take classes about White privilege (b = .49, SE = .08, p < .05) and thus supported Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a predictor, in Step 4 we removed

White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with willingness to take classes about White privilege (b = .68, SE = .08, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict willingness to take classes about White privilege. Finally, in Step 5 we examined guilt and shame as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, White shame positively predicted willingness to take classes about White privilege (b = .58, SE = .11, p <. 05), but White guilt was not a significant predictor (b = .13, SE = .10, *ns*). Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the ingroup advantage condition and White guilt and shame and because only White shame remained a significant predictor when both guilt and shame were entered into the model. Overall, these results show that White shame predicts willingness to take classes about White privilege, but do not provide support for any relationship between ingroup advantage frameworks and White shame, guilt, or willingness to take classes about White privilege. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 38.

Discussion

Study 3 used the same approach to mediation used in Study 2, but treated the ingroup advantage/outgroup disadvantage manipulation, rather than White privilege awareness, as the predictor variable. Hypothesis 1 was fully supported, as there was a positive association between White guilt and shame (r = .69, p < .05). Hypothesis 3 was partially supported, as ingroup advantage frameworks

were not associated with greater White shame or White guilt, but showed significant positive associations with willingness to confront and self-educate about White privilege (when entered as the only predictor in the model). However, as ingroup advantage frameworks were not significantly associated with most study variables, these results should be interpreted with caution. Hypothesis 2 was partially supported, as White guilt was significantly positively associated with most racial justice engagement outcomes (with the exception of defensive race related affect and implicit positive and negative affect, with which it showed no association). However, contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2, White shame was significantly positively associated with all of the same racial justice engagement outcomes as White guilt. The finding that White shame actually functioned as a positive predictor of most racial justice engagement outcomes rather than a negative predictor is striking, as it is counter to our hypotheses and the existing literature. This finding is discussed in greater depth below in the General Discussion.

Although we did not have evidence to explore mediation for Hypothesis 4 for most outcome variables, as there was no significant association between ingroup advantage framings and most racial justice engagement, we continued to use the regression approach to examine dual mediation in order to examine associations between all variables. Hypothesis 4 was partially supported, although we again found that White shame remained a significant predictor when both variables were entered into the models, while White guilt did not. When both White guilt and shame were entered into the models, White shame showed

significant associations with support for affirmative action, image threat, modern racism, receptive race related affect, willingness to confront White privilege, willingness to self-educate about White privilege, willingness to discuss White privilege, and willingness to take classes about White privilege. When both White guilt and shame were entered into the models, White guilt showed significant associations with support for affirmative action, image threat, and willingness to confront White privilege. Due to lack of evidence for mediation, as there was no relationship between ingroup advantage frameworks and White guilt or shame, we did not use bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame; thus, we cannot compare results between the two approaches. Overall, both White shame and White guilt separately predict most racial justice engagement outcomes. However, White shame appears to more consistently predict racial justice engagement outcomes than White guilt when both are entered into the model, although White guilt did remain a significant predictor for several racial justice engagement outcomes.

Study 4

Participants

All participants (n = 111) were current students enrolled in introductory psychology courses at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The average age was 18.91 (*SD* = 1.14, *Range* 18-22). All participants self-identified as White or Caucasian. 75 participants identified as female (67.6%), and 36 participants identified as male (32.4%). Regarding year in college, most

participants were in their first year (n = 67, 60.4%), followed by second (n = 23, 20.7%), third (n = 14, 12.6%), and fourth (n = 7, 6.3%) years. On a scale of 1 (*Very Liberal*) to 7 (*Very Conservative*), the average political identification was 3.69 (*SD* = 1.44, *Range* 1-7). 51 students completed the timefiller condition (45.9%) and 60 students completed the self-compassion condition (54.1%).

Analytic Strategy

In Study 4, we again used the approach to mediation outlined by McKinnon (2008) and used in Studies 2 and 3. We again examined both single and dual mediation models; however, the self-compassion manipulation was used as the independent variable (where those in the self-compassion condition were coded as "1" and those in the time-filler were coded as "0"). Otherwise, all mediating and outcome variables in the models remained the same, and we used the same six-step approach to testing mediation. Each racial justice engagement outcome was examined using a separate series of regression models, and all predictor variables were mean centered prior to conducting analysis.

Results

Correlations and descriptive statistics for Study 4 are presented in Table 41. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, we found a positive association White guilt and White shame (r = .71, p < .05). The strong association between White guilt and White shame supports our strategy of examining double mediation to examine how each predicts racial justice outcomes while controlling for the other. First, we examined the relationships between the self-compassion manipulation, White guilt, and White shame. We found that the self-compassion condition was

not a significant predictor of White guilt (b = -.00, SE = .17, *ns*) or White shame (b = -.05, SE = .14, *ns*); thus, we did not have rationale to explore mediation. These findings did not support Hypothesis 3 that the self-compassion manipulation would be negatively associated with White shame and positively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome; however, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported in that there was no association between the self-compassion condition and White guilt. Despite these findings, we used the same four-step regression process to examine if the self-compassion manipulation directly predicted any of the racial justice engagement outcomes. However, we did not complete Step 6, using bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame (Preacher & Hayes, 2008), as we did not meet the necessary conditions to establish mediation.

As a manipulation check, we also conducted a *t*-test to compare self-rated self-compassion at the conclusion of the study, expecting that those in the self-compassion condition would report higher levels of self-compassion compared to those in the time filler condition. We found those in the self-compassion condition had slightly higher levels of self-compassion (M = 2.80, SD = 0.53) compared to those in the time-filler condition (M = 2.71, SD = 0.65), but this difference was not significant, $t(109)$ = -0.82, *ns*. A major limitation of running the manipulation check using self-reported self-compassion is that the scale demonstrated low reliability in the current study (α = .30). Thus, although the manipulation check did not indicate significant differences on the self-compassion

scale, we continued to examine how differences between the two conditions may predict racial-justice outcomes.

Support for affirmative action. As reported in Table 42, there was no association between the self-compassion condition and support for affirmative action (b = .06, SE = .11, *ns*). To test guilt as a single predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with support for affirmative action (b = .22, SE = .08, $p < .05$), which supports Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a single predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with support for affirmative action (b = .35, SE = .07, $p < .05$). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict support for affirmative action. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, White shame was a significant predictor of support for affirmative action (b = .33, SE = .10, $p < .05$), but White guilt was not (b = .03, SE = .08, *ns*). Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the self-compassion condition and White guilt and shame and because only White shame predicted support for affirmative action when both guilt and shame were entered into the model. Overall, these results show that White shame predicts support for affirmative action, but do not provide support for any relationship between the self-compassion intervention and White shame, guilt, or support for affirmative action. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 39.

Image threat. As reported in Table 43, there was no association between the self-compassion condition and image threat (*b* = -.10, *SE* = .14, *ns*). To test guilt as a single predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with image threat (*b* = .39, *SE* = .07, *p* < .05), which was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White guilt would negatively predict image threat. Next, to test shame as a single predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with image threat (*b* = .49, *SE* = .09, *p* < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would positively predict image threat. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, both White shame (*b* = .32, *SE* = .12, *p* < .05) and White guilt (*b* = .20, *SE* = .10, *p* < .05) were significant predictors of image threat. Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the self-compassion condition and White guilt and shame. Overall, these results show that White shame and guilt predict image threat, but do not provide support for any relationship between the self-compassion intervention and White shame, guilt, or image threat. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 40.

Modern racism. As reported in Table 44, there was no association between the self-compassion condition and modern racism (*b* = -.11, *SE* = .18, *ns*). To test guilt as a single predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was negatively associated with modern racism (*b* = -.31, *SE* = .09, *p* < .05), which

supports Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a single predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was negatively associated with modern racism (b = -.38, SE = .12, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would positively predict modern racism. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, neither White shame (b = -.22, SE = .16, *ns*) nor White guilt (b = -.18, SE = .13, *ns*) were significant predictors of modern racism. Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the self-compassion condition and White guilt and shame and because neither remained a significant predictor when both were entered into the model. Overall, these results show that White shame and guilt separately predict modern racism, but do not provide support for any relationship between the self-compassion intervention and White shame, guilt, or modern racism. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 41.

Receptive race related affect. As reported in Table 45, there was no association between the self-compassion condition and receptive race related affect (b = .01, SE = .18, *ns*). To test guilt as a single predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with receptive race related affect (b = .54, SE = .08, p < .05), which supports Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a single predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with receptive race related affect (b = .81, SE = .09, p < .05). This finding was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2

that White shame would negatively predict receptive race related affect. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, White shame (b = .70, SE = .13, p < .05) remained a significant predictor of receptive race related affect, while White guilt (b = .13, SE = .11, *ns*) did not. Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the self-compassion condition and White guilt and shame and because only White shame remained a significant predictor when both were entered into the model. Overall, these results show that White shame predicts receptive race related affect, but do not provide support for any relationship between the self-compassion intervention and White shame, guilt, or receptive race related affect. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 42.

Defensive race-related affect. As reported in Table 46, there was no association between the self-compassion condition and defensive race-related affect (b = .15, SE = .15, *ns*). To test guilt as a single predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with defensive race-related affect (b = .29, SE = .08, p < .05), which was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White guilt would be negatively associated with defensive race related affect. Next, to test shame as a single predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with defensive race related affect (b = .49, SE = .09, p < .05) and supports Hypothesis 2. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as simultaneous

predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, White shame (*b* = .48, *SE* = .13, *p* < .05) remained a significant predictor of defensive race related affect, while White guilt (*b* = .00, *SE* = .11, *ns*) did not. Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the self-compassion condition and White guilt and shame and because only White shame remained a significant predictor when both were entered into the model. Overall, these results show that White shame predicts defensive race related affect, but do not provide support for any relationship between the self-compassion intervention and White shame, guilt, or defensive race related affect. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 43.

Implicit positive affect. As reported in Table 47, there was a slight negative association between the self-compassion condition and implicit positive affect (*b* = -.16, *SE* = .08, *p* < .05). However, as the self-compassion condition was not significantly associated with guilt or shame, we did not have rationale to test mediation. To test guilt as a single predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was not significantly associated with implicit positive affect (*b* = .01, *SE* = .04, *ns*), and thus did not support Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a single predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with implicit positive affect (*b* = .11, *SE* = .05, *p* < .05); this was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict implicit positive affect. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and

guilt, White shame (b = .20, SE = .07, p < .05) was a significant predictor of implicit positive affect, while White guilt (b = -.10, SE = .06, *ns*) was not. Although White guilt and shame both operated as direct predictors, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the self-compassion condition and White guilt and shame and because only White shame was associated with implicit positive affect. Overall, these results show that White shame predicts implicit positive affect, but do not provide support for any relationship between the self-compassion intervention and White shame, guilt, or implicit positive affect. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 44.

Implicit negative affect. As reported in Table 48, there was no association between the self-compassion condition and implicit negative affect (b = -.10, SE = .08, *ns*). To test guilt as a single predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was not significantly associated with implicit negative affect (b = .00, SE = .05, *ns*), and thus did not support Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a single predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was not significantly associated with implicit negative affect (b = .06, SE = .06, *ns*), and thus did not support Hypothesis 2. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, neither White shame (b = .12, SE = .08, *ns*) nor White guilt (b = -.07, SE = .06, *ns*) were significant predictors of implicit negative affect. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the self-compassion condition and White guilt and shame or

between White guilt or shame and implicit negative affect. Overall, these results do not provide support for any relationship between the self-compassion intervention and White shame, guilt, or implicit negative affect. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 45.

Willingness to confront White privilege. As reported in Table 49, there was no association between the self-compassion condition and willingness to confront White privilege (*b* = .05, *SE* = .11, *ns*). To test guilt as a single predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with willingness to confront White privilege (*b* = .31, *SE* = .07, *p* < .05), and thus supports Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a single predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with willingness to confront White privilege (*b* = .49, *SE* = .08, *p* < .05), and thus was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict willingness to confront White privilege. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, White shame (*b* = .44, *SE* = .12, *p* < .05) remained a significant predictor of willingness to confront White privilege, while White guilt (*b* = .05, *SE* = .10, *ns*) did not. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the self-compassion condition and White guilt and shame and because only White shame remained significant when both shame and guilt were put into the model. Overall, these results show that White shame predicts willingness to confront White privilege, but do not provide support for any relationship between the self-compassion intervention and

White shame, guilt, or willingness to confront White privilege. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 46.

Willingness to self-educate about White privilege. As reported in Table 50, there was no association between the self-compassion condition and willingness to self-educate about White privilege (b = .09, SE = .22, *ns*). To test guilt as a single predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with willingness to self-educate about White privilege (b = .55, SE = .11, $p < .05$), and thus supports Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a single predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with willingness to self-educate about White privilege (b = .68, SE = .14, $p < .05$), and thus was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict willingness to self-educate about White privilege. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, White shame (b = .41, SE = .19, $p < .05$) remained a significant predictor of willingness to self-educate about White privilege, while White guilt (b = .31, SE = .16, *ns*) did not. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the self-compassion condition and White guilt and shame and because only White shame remained significant when both shame and guilt were put into the model. Overall, these results show that White shame predicts willingness to self-educate about White privilege, but do not provide support for any relationship between the self-compassion intervention and White

shame, guilt, or willingness to self-educate about White privilege. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 47.

Willingness to discuss White privilege. As reported in Table 51, there was no association between the self-compassion condition and willingness to discuss White privilege (b = .26, SE = .22, *ns*). To test guilt as a single predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with willingness to discuss White privilege (b = .36, SE = .12, $p < .05$), and thus supports Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a single predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with willingness to discuss White privilege (b = .52, SE = .14, $p < .05$), and thus was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict willingness to discuss White privilege. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, White shame (b = .40, SE = .19, $p < .05$) remained a significant predictor of willingness to discuss White privilege, while White guilt (b = .13, SE = .16, *ns*) did not. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the self-compassion condition and White guilt and shame and because only White shame remained significant when both shame and guilt were put into the model. Overall, these results show that White shame predicts willingness to discuss White privilege, but do not provide support for any relationship between the self-compassion intervention and White shame, guilt, or willingness to discuss White privilege. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 48.

Willingness to take classes about White privilege. As reported in Table 52, there was no association between the self-compassion condition and willingness to take classes about White privilege (*b* = .07, *SE* = .22, *ns*). To test guilt as a single predictor, in Step 3 we added White guilt which was positively associated with willingness to take classes about White privilege (*b* = .54, *SE* = .11, $p < .05$), and thus supports Hypothesis 2. Next, to test shame as a single predictor, in Step 4 we removed White guilt and added White shame, which was positively associated with willingness to take classes about White privilege (*b* = .57, *SE* = .14, $p < .05$), and thus was contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2 that White shame would negatively predict willingness to discuss White privilege. Finally, in Step 5 we examined both shame and guilt as simultaneous predictors. In this model including both White shame and guilt, White guilt (*b* = .41, *SE* = .15, $p < .05$) remained a significant predictor of willingness to take classes about White privilege, while White shame (*b* = .21, *SE* = .19, *ns*) did not. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because there was not evidence for a relationship between the self-compassion condition and White guilt and shame and because only White guilt remained significant when both shame and guilt were put into the model. Overall, these results show that White guilt predicts willingness to take classes about White privilege, but do not provide support for any relationship between the self-compassion intervention and White shame, guilt, or willingness to take classes about White privilege. For a summary of the double mediation see Figure 49.

Discussion

Study 4 used the same approach to mediation used in Studies 2 and 3, but treated the self-compassion manipulation as the predictor variable. Hypothesis 1 was fully supported, as there was a positive association between White guilt and shame ($r = .71$, $p < .05$). Hypothesis 3 was not supported, as the self-compassion manipulation was not associated with greater White shame, White guilt, or racial justice engagement. Hypothesis 2 was partially supported, as White guilt was significantly positively associated with most racial justice engagement outcomes (with the exception of implicit positive and negative affect, with which it showed no association). However, contrary to our prediction in Hypothesis 2, White shame was significantly positively associated with all of the same racial justice engagement outcomes as White guilt, and was also positively associated with implicit positive affect. The finding that White shame actually functioned as a positive predictor of most racial justice engagement outcomes rather than a negative predictor across all four studies is striking, as it is counter to our hypotheses and the existing literature. This finding is discussed in greater depth below in the General Discussion.

Although we did not have evidence to explore mediation for Hypothesis 4, as there was no significant association between the self-compassion manipulation and racial justice engagement, we continued to use the regression approach to examine dual mediation in order to examine associations between all variables. Hypothesis 4 was partially supported, although we again found that White shame continued to be a significant predictor and White guilt did not when both were entered into the model. When both White guilt and shame were entered into the

models, White shame showed significant associations with support for affirmative action, image threat, receptive and defensive race related affect, implicit positive affect, willingness to confront White privilege, willingness to self-educate about White privilege, and willingness to discuss White privilege. When both White guilt and shame were entered into the models, White guilt showed significant associations with image threat and willingness to take classes about White privilege. Due to lack of evidence for mediation, we did not use bootstrapping to examine 95% confidence intervals for the total and specific indirect effects of White guilt and White shame; thus, we cannot compare results between the two approaches. Overall, both White shame and White guilt separately predict most racial justice engagement outcomes. However, White shame appears to more consistently and reliably predict racial justice engagement outcomes than White guilt when both are entered into the model, although White guilt did remain a significant predictor for several racial justice engagement outcomes.

General Discussion

In the current study, we conducted four studies to better understand how to decrease resistance to reflecting on White privilege (e.g., defensive affect or withdrawal) and to promote racial justice engagement (e.g., willingness to take diversity courses and educate friends about White privilege) among White students. Specifically, Study 1 examined the relationships between White guilt, White shame, and racial justice engagement (i.e., behavioral intentions, racial attitudes, and affective responses) when participants were not first presented with information about White privilege, and thus functions as a baseline study. Study

2 examined the relationship between White privilege awareness, White guilt and White shame, and racial justice. Study 3 examined the relationship between an ingroup advantage (i.e., White privilege) and an outgroup disadvantage (i.e., Black disadvantage) framework in eliciting White guilt and White shame responses and corresponding levels of racial justice engagement. Study 4 examined the potential utility of a mindfulness-based self-compassion framing of White privilege to reduce White shame responses, thus increasing racial justice engagement. Studies 1 and 2 were correlational in nature whereas Studies 3 and 4 used manipulations to compare frameworks.

Across all studies, both White guilt and White shame were positively associated with racial justice engagement outcomes when tested in separate models. However, when both guilt and shame were entered into the models, White shame continued to be significantly associated with the outcome whereas White guilt was not. Together this shows that independently both White guilt and shame were associated with outcomes, but that when considered together the association for White guilt was reduced (likely due to shared variance) while White shame continued to predict over and above White guilt. Thus, consistent with our hypotheses, White guilt showed a positive association with racial justice engagement outcomes; however, contrary to our hypotheses that White shame would negatively be associated with racial justice engagement outcomes, White shame actually showed a positive association and operated in a similar manner as White guilt. In fact, White shame continued to predict outcomes over-and-above

White guilt, showing a potentially unique ability of shame to predict additional variance.

Findings are consistent with past research linking higher White guilt with attitudes such as lower racism, higher awareness of White privilege, and support for racial justice policies such as affirmative action (Powell et al., 2005; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Swim & Miller, 1999). However, findings are contrary to past research that associates White shame with higher distancing behavior and lower support for reparations longitudinally (Lickel et al., 2005; Brown et al., 2008) and are not consistent with the conceptualization of shame as associated with avoidant, self-oriented coping (Tagney et al., 2007). However, Brown and colleagues (2008) did find that collective shame was associated with greater support for reparations cross-sectionally, which parallels our findings. The conflict between our findings and widely-held beliefs about the negative function of shame highlights the need for additional research on collective guilt and shame, which may not operate in the same ways as individual guilt and shame.

To better understand and contextualize these findings in the literature, we sought to identify research that considers the positive, prosocial potential of shame. Recent research on both personal and collective guilt and shame notes that although shame has been associated with a number of positive outcomes, researchers have been poorly equipped to interpret these findings due to the largely negative perception of shame in the literature (Lickel, Kushley, Savalei, Matta, & Schmader, 2014; Lickel, Steele, & Schmader, 2011; de Hooge,

Breugelmans, & Zeelenberg, 2008; de Hooge, Zeelenberg, & Breugelmans, 2010, 2011; Allpress, Barlow, Brown, & Louis, 2010; Gausel, Leach, Vignoles, & Brown, 2012; Gausel & Leach, 2011). Gausel and colleagues (2012) note that "the popular orthodoxy that shame is necessarily tied to self-defensive motivation has guided most work on individuals' shame about the moral failure of their in-group… this has meant that previous studies were in a poor position to interpret the repeated finding that feelings of shame are associated with pro-social responses" (p. 956). de Hooge and colleagues (2008) note that although psychological theories of shame focus on its negative aspects, theories of moral emotions focus on its potential to act as a "commitment device" that motivates prosocial behavior. They go on to note that "the current psychological knowledge of shame poses a kind of paradox: How could shame be a functional emotion when it has only negative psychological consequences?" (p. 933). As these researchers note, the function of shame may be more complicated than a one-to-one correspondence with defensive withdrawal responses, and more nuanced approaches are need to understand the nature and function of collective shame, which may in fact have great positive potential.

In fact, existing research with personal and collective guilt and shame has found that shame is linked with a number of positive outcomes and thus likely serves some very adaptive functions. Personal shame (distinct from guilt, embarrassment, and regret) predicts motivation for self-change and in fact may be a more powerful change agent than positive emotions (Lickel et al., 2014). Endogenous shame (i.e., shame linked with behaviors related to the shame-

eliciting event) is associated with motivation for prosocial behavior, perhaps because it functions as a commitment device (de Hooge et al., 2008). Research on collective shame also underscores the positive, prosocial potential of shame. For Bosnian Serbs reflecting on treatment of Bosnian Muslims, both collective guilt and shame positively predicted reparation attitudes, although the effects of guilt were mediated by empathy and the effects of shame were mediated by self-pity and empathy (Brown & Čehajić, 2008). For Italians reflecting on colonization of Africa, shame predicted intentions to provide economic compensation to current residents of the ex-colonies, while guilt did not reliably predict any reparation strategy (Mari, Andrighetto, Gabbiadini, Durante, & Volpato, 2010). For Australians reflecting on mistreatment of Aboriginal Australians, both guilt and shame predicted attitudinal support of government apology and victim compensation. However, only shame was associated with behavioral support, in the form of signing a petition supporting the government apology (Allpress et al., 2010). For Norwegians reflecting on discrimination against the Tater minority, shame predicted pro-social motivation (Gausel et al., 2012). Thus, our finding that White shame positively predicted racial justice engagement over and above White guilt is less surprising in the context of this more recent research, and provides additional support for the importance of research to unpack and understand the potential positive functions of personal and collective shame.

This more recent body of research acknowledges that shame has been associated with both approach and avoidant responses in past research and

proposes several explanations for these contradictory findings. First, a distinction may be drawn between an appraisal of whether the self or group is perceived as essentially bad or as appearing bad in the eyes of others. Although multiple researchers acknowledge the importance of this distinction, they are conflicted about its implications. On the one hand, Lickel and colleagues (2011) propose that a positive appraisal of ingroup character combined with a negative appraisal of ingroup reputation may motivate a desire to repair the ingroup's image, while a negative appraisal of ingroup character may result in distancing from the ingroup. However, other researchers have proposed (and found support for) the opposite pattern. Allpress and colleagues (2010) found that among Australians reflecting on mistreatment of Aboriginal Australians, essence shame (i.e., the perception that the ingroup has an inherently negative quality) was associated with more substantial compensation, while image shame (i.e., the perception that the ingroup is perceived negatively by others) was associated with support for government apology. In a similar study among British citizens reflecting on atrocities committed by British soldiers during the Iraq war, image shame was associated with negative orientation towards the outgroup while moral shame (i.e., related to the moral essence of the ingroup) was associated with positive orientation towards the outgroup distinct from the effects of guilt and rejection. Additionally, the longitudinal design of this study suggests a causal direction from emotions to orientation towards the outgroup (Allpress et al., 2014). Among Germans reflecting on Nazi past, moral shame was associated with increased support for Turks living in Germany, while image shame was associated with increased social

distance and guilt was not associated with either outcome (Rees, Allpress, & Brown, 2013). Similar relationships were found among the British reflecting on atrocities during the Iraq war; additionally, sense of moral obligation mediated these relationships, and the effects were stronger with greater perceived similarity between the ingroup and the outgroup (Rees et al., 2013).

In unpacking the implications of these distinctions, Gausel and Leach (2011) note that two components may be at play: appraisals (i.e., of a defect in the self or of perceived condemnation from others) and feelings (i.e., of rejection, inferiority, and shame). They argue that what has previously been researched under the umbrella of shame may encompass multiple combinations of appraisals and feelings: concern for social image (i.e., appraised other-condemnation in tandem with felt rejection), concern for self-image (i.e., appraised global self-defect in combination with felt inferiority), and repairable defect in self-image (i.e., appraised specific self-defect in combination with felt shame). Gausel and Leach (2011) argue that the first two combinations will likely lead to defensive motivation, while the latter will lead to prosocial motivation. In an empirical extension of this conceptual work examining Norwegians thinking about discrimination against the Tater minority, they found that appraisal of the ingroup as suffering a moral defect predicted shame, and that shame predicted pro-social motivation, while appraisal of concern for condemnation from others predicted felt rejection, and that felt rejection predicted self-defense motivation (Gausel et al., 2012). Although there are multiple possible relationships and conceptualizations at play in this recent work distinguishing between a focus on

the essence of the self (or the ingroup) versus a focus on how the self (or ingroup) is perceived by others, it is clear that image threat may play an important role in distinguishing between White shame focused on how the ingroup is perceived by others versus an appraisal of the character of the ingroup. Thus, for White students reflecting on racism, both ingroup identification and image threat may play important roles in clarifying and illuminating the exact nature and function of the guilt and shame they experience.

Second, context and time may plan an important role in determining the impact and function of guilt and shame. According to more contemporary, dynamic perspectives on emotions, emotions may have a reciprocal relationship with context and may become more elaborated over time (Lickel et al., 2011). Difficulty of making change or reparations may be one important aspect of context to consider. Past research has found that levels of collective guilt are affected by the difficulty of making reparations (Schmitt et al., 2008) and self-efficacy beliefs (Stewart et al., 2010), suggesting that there may even be a bidirectional relationship between collective guilt and reparation attitudes. Shame may be important in sparking the motivation to initiate change, but may become maladaptive if it is sustained for too long or if it is also believed that change is not possible (Lickel et al., 2014). Shame may be associated with approach behaviors to restore the threatened self unless this is perceived as difficult or risky, in which case it may activate self-protective, avoidant behaviors (de Hooge et al., 2010; 2011). Existing research on guilt tends to focus on prosocial responses in terms of immediate responses to a situation; shame's focus on identity may be more

conducive to long-term change (Lickel et al., 2014). However, other researchers argue (and have found preliminary support) that collective guilt but not shame predicts reparation attitudes longitudinally (Brown et al., 2008; Brown & Čehajić, 2008). Again, context may be important to consider, as people may be less likely to pursue long-term change if they feel able to resolve the situation through short-term reparations (Lickel et al., 2014). Additionally, although endogenous shame has been linked with motivation for prosocial behavior, exogenous shame (i.e., associated with behaviors unrelated to the shame-eliciting event) has not been found to motivate prosocial behaviors (de Hooge et al., 2008), again pointing to the importance of context.

In the current study, White students may be concerned about how others perceive them or their moral essence on the basis of their racial group membership (i.e., White shame) but may not identify any specific actions they have taken that perpetuate institutional racism, and thus may feel more disconnected from White guilt. Thus, White shame may feel more relevant to these students than White guilt. It is possible that, due to the large scope and scale of institutional racism in the United States, students may also feel overwhelmed about the possibility of taking action to restore their threatened self of self. However, outcome measures in the current study assessed very specific attitudes and behavioral intentions to work towards racial justice; thus, participants may have felt less overwhelmed about the possibility of taking action. Future research could assess identity and behaviorally based concerns separate from language about White guilt and shame to examine whether participants are

more likely to endorse one or the other, and may wish to examine the role of perception of the difficulty of making reparations or self-efficacy for racial justice action.

Third, shame may simultaneously evoke prosocial, action-oriented and avoidance responses, particularly if people are motivated to avoid experiencing the negative emotional states associated with shame itself. Lickel and colleagues (2014) note, "In other words, shame may be a paradoxical double-edged sword: It may both elicit a strong desire to change the self and simultaneously evoke avoidance-oriented responses that work at a counter purpose to that motivation for change. As a result, the motivation to change might not always translate into actual change, particularly if people try to suppress or deny their emotional response" (p. 1058-59). Gausel and colleagues (2012) note a similar issue with research on shame, as people may avoid acknowledging or prolonging experiences of shame due to its distressing nature, but research has largely been unable to examine the nature and function of "unacknowledged shame." Thus, when research uses measures that assess self-reported shame (as in the current study), it may overlook the importance of such unacknowledged or suppressed shame.

Overall, the finding that White shame was positively associated with racial justice engagement over and above White guilt indicates that White shame appears to have a positive function in being associated with racial justice engagement. This finding is consistent with more recent research that challenges "standard knowledge" about the uniformly negative function of shame and

presents a number of positive, prosocial functions of shame. More research is needed to replicate and unpack this finding, as well as to identify potential mediators and moderators of these relationships. This is especially important as research has found levels of "self-criticism" (including guilt, shame responsibility, and desire for reparations) to be low across a number of studies examining people's attitudes about previous generations' genocide or mass violence (Leach, Zeineddine, & Čehajić-Clancy, 2013). The most popular explanation for these relatively low levels across studies was moral disengagement (Leach et al., 2013). Thus, better understanding of White guilt and White shame may contribute to understanding about how these collective emotions may facilitate engagement with moral issues, such as racial justice.

In addition to the finding that White shame showed strong positive associations with racial justice engagement outcomes, we also found that both White guilt and White shame were more consistently associated with racial attitudes (i.e., White privilege awareness, support for affirmative action, image threat, and modern racism) and behavioral intentions (i.e., willingness to confront, self-educate about, discuss, and take classes about White privilege) than race related affect (i.e., receptive and defensive race related affect, implicit positive and negative affect). One notable exception to this is receptive race related affect, which was positively associated with White guilt and White shame across all four studies. In Studies 1, 3, and 4, only White shame remained significant when both guilt and shame were included in the models; however, in Study 2, both White guilt and White shame remained significant positive predictors of receptive race

related affect when both guilt and shame were included in the models. Notably, the three race related affect variables that showed no significant associations (defensive race related affect, implicit positive affect, and implicit negative affect) also were largely uncorrelated with other study variables across all four studies. Thus, receptive race related affect appears to be reliably associated with other study variables, including White guilt and shame, while defensive race related affect and implicit positive and negative affect are not.

The lack of association between defensive race related affect and other study variables may be due to social desirability, as some respondents may not have wanted to endorse negative race related emotions. These participants may also have been less likely to endorse experiences of White shame, similar to other researchers who point out the difficulty of assessing unacknowledged shame (Lickel et al., 2014; Gausel et al., 2012). For Studies 1, 2, and 3, completing the studies online may have resulted in decreased threat or defensiveness in response to the material. The lack of association between implicit positive and negative affect and other study variables may be due to the fact that these measures do not specifically assess race related affect, but more general positive and negative affect. Future research may benefit from implicit approaches to assessing race related affect, and additional research should be conducted to better understand the relationships between White guilt and shame and other forms of race related affect. Perhaps as people learn more about White privilege, awareness of White privilege, White shame, and White guilt increase, and receptive race related affect increases as it provides a means of mitigating White guilt. We are not able to test

this in the current study due to the cross-sectional nature of the data; however, results indicate that lower White privilege awareness is associated with lower receptive race related affect and thus that people with lower White privilege awareness may have different emotional responses to study content than those with greater awareness. Future research may investigate the potential role of White privilege awareness as a moderator of responses to education about White privilege.

Overall, findings suggest the need to consider and assess White shame as well as White guilt in future research examining race-related attitudes and racial justice engagement among White students. The primary aim of this study is to contribute to knowledge for diversity educators working with White students around issues of racism and White privilege, and findings suggest that White shame may be an important mediating variable for diversity educators to consider in this work. The fact that our results are contrary to the established literature around collective shame (e.g., Brown et al., 2008; Lickel et al., 2005) but support more recent research around collective shame (e.g., de Hooge et al., 2008; Mari et al., 2010; Allpress et al., 2010; Gausel et al., 2012; Lickel et al., 2014) heightens the importance of conducting additional research in this area, as many diversity educators may assume that shame is a negative emotion and may discourage students from feeling or expressing White shame. Additionally, to our knowledge this the first study to examine collective guilt and shame among White students regarding racism in the United States; thus, additional research needs to be conducted with this population in order to generate knowledge that is useful for

diversity educators. Future research also may examine potential mediators and moderators of the relationship between White shame and racial justice engagement. For example, some students may have more adaptive ways of responding to White shame than others, and these coping styles could be incorporated into training for diversity educations. Ingroup identification has also been identified as an important variable linked with image threat and collective shame (Piff et al., 2012; Welten et al., 2012; Iyer et al., 2007). Although ingroup identification was assessed in the current study, we did not test it as a covariate, mediator, or moderator in our models; this should be conducted in future work. Finally, qualitative research (e.g., Todd & Abrams, 2011) holds great promise for identifying and exploring some of the complex relationships between awareness of racial inequality, collective guilt and shame, and racial justice engagement.

We now discuss more specific findings related to individual studies along with noting limitations and directions for future research associated with each study. Because many of the findings from Studies 1 and 2 are discussed above more generally, the discussion below for Studies 1 and 2 are more focused and brief. Finally, we then integrate across the studies to articulate a few general conclusions.

Study 1

Study 1 examined the relationships between White guilt, White shame, and each of the racial justice engagement outcomes when participants were not first presented with any information about White privilege. As in other studies, findings indicate that White guilt and White shame both separately predict nine of

the twelve racial justice engagement outcomes. For the other three racial justice outcomes (defensive race related affect, implicit positive affect, and implicit negative affect), neither White shame nor White guilt showed any significant association. Additionally, when both White guilt and shame are included in the same models, White shame predicted racial justice engagement over and above White guilt for six of the nine racial justice engagement outcomes that White guilt and White shame predicted separately. The exceptions were receptive race related affect, willingness to self-educate about White privilege and willingness to take classes about White privilege, for which White guilt and shame effectively canceled each other out when they were entered into the model together. Overall, this is contrary to the established literature on collective guilt and shame (e.g., Lickel et al., 2005; Brown et al., 2008), which suggests that White guilt and shame may be operating differently in the current study than in past research.

In contrast to the other studies, which examine White guilt and shame as mediators, Study 1 treated White guilt and shame as predictor variables, and established these relationships when participants were not first presented with any information about White privilege. Results from Study 1 were largely consistent with other studies, indicating that White guilt and shame show similar relationships with racial justice engagement variables whether or not participants are presented with information about White privilege. This provides an important foundation for the other studies and suggests these relationships are present whether they are in the context of participants being asked about White privilege or not. For diversity educators, this suggests that White guilt and shame may

show positive associations with racial justice engagement even in situations where students have not first learned about or been presented with information on White privilege.

Study 1 has several limitations. First, although participants were not asked about White privilege in the study measures, racism and White privilege were mentioned in the consent form; thus, participants had some exposure to these ideas before completing study measures. In order to establish these relationships completely outside of the context of exposure to information about White privilege, future research could use minor deception to present the topic of the study in a different manner. Second, participants completed the study online, and thus aspects of the environment in which they completed the measures (e.g., noise level, other people) may have influenced their responses. Third, participants are limited to students involved in the participant pool at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and these findings may not generalize to a community sample or to people in other age groups. Overall, Study 1 established relationships between White guilt, shame, and racial justice engagement when participants were not first asked about White privilege. However, these findings were only correlational and should be interpreted in light of this limitation. In Study 2, we built on these findings by examining the role of White guilt and shame as mediators.

Study 2

In Study 2, we examined the relationships between White privilege awareness, White guilt and shame, and all nine racial justice engagement

outcomes separately. Study 2 established the necessary conditions for White guilt and shame to mediate the relationship between White privilege awareness and most racial justice engagement outcomes. When both White guilt and shame were entered into the model, White shame partially mediated the relationship between White privilege awareness and support for affirmative action, modern racism, receptive race related affect, willingness to discuss White privilege, and willingness to take classes about White privilege; however, using the bootstrapping approach to mediation, these results remained significant only for receptive race related affect and willingness to discuss White privilege. There was some evidence that White guilt mediated the relationship between White privilege awareness and image threat; however, this result was not consistent between the two approaches to establishing mediation. Overall, as in other studies, both White shame and White guilt separately predict most racial justice engagement outcomes. However, White shame appears to more consistently and reliably mediate the relationship between White privilege awareness and racial justice engagement outcomes than White guilt when both are entered into the model. Although previous research on collective guilt and shame has examined complex relationships between predictors and outcomes, this research (Lickel et al., 2005; Brown et al., 2008) did not test these relationships using a mediation model; thus, the current study provides an important extension to this body of research.

Findings from Study 2 are consistent with findings from Study 1, and extend that study to illustrate the role of White shame and guilt as mediators and

to establish that these relationships hold true after participants are first asked about White privilege. However, Study 2 has several limitations. First, participants from this study were drawn from DePaul University, while participants from the other studies were drawn from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Thus, there may be some differences between the sample for this study and the sample for the other studies, and findings may not generalize to a community sample or to participants from other age groups. Second, this study was also completed online, and thus participant responses could have been influenced by the environment in which they completed the study. Third, Study 2 remained correlational and did not use any manipulation to examine how induced awareness of White privilege (i.e., ingroup advantage) may link to White shame and guilt and racial justice outcomes. Thus, in Study 3, we manipulated whether information about racism was presented as ingroup disadvantage or outgroup disadvantage (similar to Powell et al., 2005) in order to examine the impact of how racism is framed on White guilt, shame, and racial justice engagement.

Study 3

Study 3 used the same approach to mediation used in Study 2, but treated the ingroup advantage/outgroup disadvantage manipulation, rather than White privilege awareness, as the predictor variable. We found similar relationships between White guilt, shame, and racial justice engagement outcomes in Study 3 as in the other studies, although White guilt remained a significant predictor for three racial justice outcomes (support for affirmative action, image threat, and

willingness to confront White privilege). This may be due to the larger sample size of Study 3. Overall, these findings are very similar to previous studies.

However, the main goal of Study 3 was to examine the effect of an ingroup disadvantage/outgroup disadvantage manipulation on study variables. Unfortunately, we did not find any association between ingroup advantage frameworks and White shame, White guilt, or most racial justice engagement outcomes. The exceptions were willingness to confront White privilege, and willingness to self-educate about White privilege (for which ingroup advantage frameworks were a significant positive predictor when it was the only variable in the model). This finding is inconsistent with past research, which has found White privilege frameworks to result in increased support for affirmative action (Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003) and decreased racism (Powell et al., 2005) compared to Black disadvantage frameworks. We used the same manipulation used by Powell et al. (2005) but were unable to replicate their results. This may indicate that findings from previous research are not as stable as previously believed. It may also indicate that the manipulation was not effective or strong enough to replicate previous results. Furthermore, we used a longer and different measurement strategy to assess White guilt and also assessed White shame, a major difference between the current and previous studies. Perhaps these items, either by nature of being different or by including shame based content, prompted participants to reflect on White privilege. Finally, the association between the ingroup advantage framework and White guilt and shame was in the expected direction, but was not strong enough to reach significance.

One major limitation of Study 3 is that it was conducted online, which limited the forms the ingroup advantage/outgroup disadvantage manipulation could take. Also, we were not able to monitor how much time participants spent in reading the manipulation statements, which may have further decreased their potency. Future research may wish to enhance this manipulation through in-person methods to explore whether this would result in significant associations. For example, an entire workshop or educational presentation could be given to students framing racism as either White privilege or Black disadvantage, rather than simply having participants respond to a series of items. Second, ingroup identification is an important variable to consider when examining the effect of a White privilege framework. Higher White identification has been found to predict increased modern racism in response to a White privilege framing, while lower White identification has been found to predict decreased modern racism in response to a White privilege framing (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Schiffhauer, 2007). Thus, future research may wish to examine the moderating role of ingroup identification in shaping these relationships. Third, although Study 3 examines the impact of how racism is presented to White students on their emotional responses and racial justice engagement, it does not directly identify or test any specific tools that may be useful for diversity educators seeking to increase racial justice engagement among White students. Thus, in Study 4, we tested the utility of a self-compassion framework for increasing racial justice engagement among these students.

Study 4

Study 4 used the same approach to mediation used in Studies 2 and 3, but treated the self-compassion manipulation as the predictor variable. We found similar relationships between White guilt, shame, and racial justice engagement outcomes in Study 4 as in the other studies, although White guilt remained a significant predictor for two racial justice outcomes (image threat and willingness to take classes about White privilege) and we found a significant association between White shame and implicit positive affect.

Our hypothesis that the self-compassion framework would be associated with decreased shame and increased racial justice engagement was not supported, as the self-compassion manipulation was not associated with more or less White shame, White guilt, or racial justice engagement. The relationship between White shame and the self-compassion manipulation was in the expected direction, but was weak and not significant. Thus, similar to the ingroup advantage manipulation in Study 3, the manipulation may not have been strong enough to achieve the desired results. The self-compassion manipulation in Study 4 was brief relative to the overall length of the study, and future research may wish to examine these relationships with a longer or more in-depth self-compassion manipulation. However, our ability to find a significant effect for the self-compassion manipulation was limited by the low reliability of the Self-Compassion Scale (α = .30; Neff, 2003b). Future research may wish to use another measure of self-compassion or to conduct measurement analyses to determine if the reliability of the scale can be improved.

However, it is also important to note that White shame was a powerful positive predictor of racial justice engagement across all four studies, which suggests that decreasing White shame through a self-compassion manipulation may actually decrease racial justice engagement among White students. Past research has found that trait-level self-compassion was negatively associated with shame but was unrelated to guilt (Barnard and Curry, 2011). However, this study suggests that collective guilt and shame may not operate in the same ways as personal guilt and shame; thus, self-compassion may share a different relationship to White shame than it does to personal shame. In the current study, we used the dummy-coded manipulation variable as the predictor variable; however, future research may wish to examine the relationships between self-compassion, White guilt and shame, and racial justice engagement outside of the context of an experimental manipulation.

One major strength of Study 4 is that it was conducted in-person and involved an educational presentation about White privilege similar to the type of presentation that might be given in a classroom. Thus, Study 4 has stronger ecological validity than the other studies, and suggests that the positive associations between White guilt, shame, and racial justice engagement hold when they are assessed in this context. This supports the utility of overall findings for diversity educators working with college students in a classroom setting. However, similar to other studies, findings are limited in that they may not generalize to a community sample.

Conclusion

Overall, this study contributes to knowledge about how to decrease resistance to reflecting on White privilege and to promote racial justice engagement among White students by examining the relationships between White privilege awareness, White guilt and shame, and racial justice engagement. Across all studies, findings illustrate that White guilt and shame are both positively associated with a number of racial justice engagement outcomes. Contrary to our hypotheses and to the dominant literature on individual and collective shame (e.g., Lickel et al., 2005), we found that White shame emerged as a powerful positive predictor of racial justice engagement, and was able to predict over-and-above White guilt for most outcomes. This surprising but consistent finding is consistent with more recent research on guilt and shame (e.g., de Hooge et al., 2008; Lickel et al., 2014; Allpress et al., 2010; Gausel et al., 2012) and warrants future research to better understand the role of collective guilt and shame, and has great potential to contribute to knowledge for diversity educators working with White students on issues of racism and White privilege. Based on findings from this study, White shame has great positive potential to promote racial justice engagement for White students. However, as this finding is contrary to what has been found in previous research on collective guilt and shame, these results should be considered preliminary and interpreted with caution.

Future research should attempt to replicate and extend study findings, as knowledge about the relationships between White guilt, shame, and racial justice

engagement has great potential to contribute to the field of diversity education. Several variables, such as ingroup identification and White privilege awareness, may moderate the relationships outlined in this study. White students may be more likely to experience White shame than White guilt due to being more likely to identify ways in which others perceive them negatively on the basis of racial group membership than specific behavioral ways in which they have contributed to racism or White privilege. Future research could specifically assess this, and qualitative research (e.g., Todd & Abrams, 2011) may help to explore and illustrate these complex relationships. The manipulations in this study (ingroup advantage/outgroup disadvantage and self-compassion/time filler) were not significant predictors of White guilt or shame, and future research may wish to utilize stronger manipulations to examine if this would result in significant associations with study variables. Additionally, longitudinal research, such as a daily diary approach, would allow an examination of the how the process of change in White privilege awareness corresponds with changes in White guilt and shame, and how changes in White guilt and shame relate to racial justice engagement over time. Overall, there are a number of rich directions for future research in this area.

The primary aim of this study was to contribute to knowledge that would be useful to diversity educators working with White students around issues of racial justice. The most striking finding is that White shame emerged as a positive predictor of racial justice engagement, and that it predicted engagement over and above White guilt for many outcomes. Although preliminary, this

finding suggests that diversity educators should facilitate learning experiences that are likely to increase participants' White privilege awareness as well as White shame and guilt. Many students may receive a cultural message that guilt and shame, especially White guilt and shame, are negative emotions that should be avoided, as the popular discussion about White guilt is quite different from the psychological literature. Diversity educators could facilitate classroom activities to facilitate discussion about White shame and guilt to explore these attitudes and prompt discussion about the positive potential of White shame and guilt.

Moreover, the finding that receptive race related affect is positively associated with White privilege awareness, White guilt, and White shame suggests that students may be more receptive to learning about racism and White privilege as their awareness, guilt, and shame increase; thus, diversity educators could facilitate activities designed to increase these factors. For example, students could identify specific ways they benefit from White privilege, ways they have (knowingly or unknowingly) contributed to reinforcing White privilege, and ways in which racism and White privilege may contribute to others viewing them negatively on the basis of their racial group membership. In this study, these relationships remained in the same direction whether in the context of an ingroup advantage or outgroup disadvantage framework and whether or not participants completed a self-compassion exercise. This suggests that these relationships were relatively stable across context; thus, these strategies should prove useful to diversity educators who may be working with White students around issues of racism and White privilege framed in different ways.

Although this research suggests the utility of White guilt and shame for diversity education and racial justice engagement, findings are preliminary and these relationships are likely complex. Thus, future research can contribute greatly to more specific knowledge for diversity educators. Research and education are both integral parts of psychology's social justice mission, and this study contributes to privilege studies by examining the role of White guilt and shame in predicting racial justice engagement for White students. Hopefully such research can contribute to efforts to increase racial justice actions and attitudes for White students as part of broader movements for racial justice.

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Table 1

Measures of Racial Justice Engagement

Outcome 1: Racial Attitudes
○ Support for affirmative action
○ Image threat
○ Racism
Outcome 2: Race-Related Affect
○ Defensive affective responses
○ Receptive affective responses
○ Implicit positive and negative affect
Outcome 3: Behavioral Intentions
○ Willingness to Confront White privilege
○ Willingness to discuss White privilege
○ Willingness to self-educate about White privilege
○ Willingness to take courses involving White privilege

Table 2

Study Hypotheses

Study 1: Baseline Condition

Hypothesis 1: Relationship between Shame and Guilt

- Shame and guilt will be positively associated.

Hypothesis 2: Guilt, Shame, and Racial Justice Engagement

- Guilt will be positively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.
- Shame will be negatively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.

Study 2: White Privilege Awareness, White Guilt and Shame, and Racial Justice Engagement

Hypothesis 1: Relationship between Shame and Guilt

- Shame and guilt will be positively associated.

Hypothesis 2: Guilt, Shame, and Racial Justice Engagement

- Guilt will be positively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.
- Shame will be negatively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.

Hypothesis 3: White Privilege Awareness

- White privilege awareness will be associated with greater shame.
- White privilege awareness will be associated with greater guilt.
- White privilege awareness will be positively associated with each racial justice outcome.

Hypothesis 4: Mediation

- Guilt and shame will mediate the association between White privilege awareness and each racial justice engagement outcome.

Study 3: Ingroup Advantage/Outgroup Disadvantage Framing

Hypothesis 1: Relationship between Shame and Guilt

- Guilt and shame will be positively associated.

Hypothesis 2: Guilt, Shame, and Racial Justice Engagement

- Guilt will be positively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.
- Shame will be negatively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.

Hypothesis 3: Ingroup Advantage, Shame, and Guilt

- Ingroup advantage frameworks will be associated with greater shame.
- Ingroup advantage frameworks will be associated with greater guilt.

- Ingroup advantage frameworks will be positively associated with each racial justice outcome.

Hypothesis 4: Mediation

- Guilt and shame will mediate the association between ingroup advantage frameworks and each racial justice engagement outcome.

Study 4: Self-Compassion

Hypothesis 1: Relationship between Shame and Guilt

- Guilt and shame will be positively associated.

Hypothesis 2: Guilt, Shame, and Racial Justice Engagement

- Guilt will be positively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.
- Shame will be negatively associated with each racial justice engagement outcome.

Hypothesis 3: Self-compassion, Shame, and Guilt

- A self-compassion intervention will be associated with lower shame.
- A self-compassion intervention will not be associated with guilt.
- A self-compassion intervention will be positively associated with each racial justice outcome.

Hypothesis 4: Mediation

- Guilt and shame will mediate the association between the self-compassion intervention and each racial justice engagement outcome.

Table 3

Factor Structure of White Guilt and White Shame

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
To think how the United States is seen for its treatment of African Americans makes me feel ashamed.	.87	.04
I feel shame when I think how White Americans have behaved towards African Americans.	.86	-.05
I feel ashamed for the racist tendency of White Americans.	.82	.01
Sometimes it shames me what others can think of the manner in which we have harmed African Americans.	.80	.01
I feel ashamed for the damage done to African Americans by White Americans.	.77	-.12
It shames me when I realize that White Americans could be intolerant by nature.	.77	.06
I feel ashamed to be a White American for the way we have treated African Americans.	.60	-.15
Sometimes I feel guilty for the things that White Americans have done to African Americans.	-.09	-.98
When I think what White Americans have done to African Americans, I feel guilty.	-.02	-.95
When I think how White Americans have enslaved African Americans, I feel guilty.	-.06	-.94
I feel guilty for the manner in which African Americans have been treated in the past by White Americans.	-.00	-.84
Even if I have done nothing bad, I feel guilty for the behavior of White Americans toward African Americans.	.09	-.79

Table 3 (contd.)

Factor Structure of White Guilt and White Shame

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
To think how we White Americans show intolerance, by refusing job contracts to African Americans, makes me feel guilty.	.21	-.57
I feel guilty for the bad living conditions of African Americans.	.21	-.57

Table 4

Study 1: Intercorrelations of Study Variables

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. White Privilege Awareness	—	.43*	.52*	.60*	.41*	-.77*	.54*	-.12	.04	-.01	.48*	.47*	.42*	.44*
2. White Guilt		—	.74*	.39*	.36*	-.33*	.40*	-.01	.00	-.02	.50*	.33*	.23*	.33*
3. White Shame			—	.44*	.45*	-.45*	.42*	-.05	.03	-.05	.55*	.29*	.28*	.33*
4. Support for Affirmative Action				—	.39*	-.56*	.51*	.11	.04	.03	.56*	.48*	.35*	.42*
5. Image Threat					—	-.43*	.34*	.06	.19	.06	.31*	.22*	.22*	.17
6. Modern Racism						—	-.46*	.14	.03	-.01	-.53*	-.37*	-.38*	-.33*
7. Receptive Race Related Affect							—	-.03	.08	.13	.59*	.69*	.57*	.75*
8. Defensive Race Related Affect								—	-.04	.09	-.02	-.10	-.12	-.09
9. Implicit Positive Affect									—	.60*	.06	.10	.18	.11
10. Implicit Negative Affect										—	.08	.14	.22*	.16
11. Willingness to Confront White Privilege											—	.53*	.53*	.56*
12. Willingness to Self-Educate about White Privilege												—	.63*	.80*
13. Willingness to Discuss White Privilege													—	.63*
14. Willingness to Take Classes about White Privilege														—
M	3.73	3.19	3.07	2.49	3.17	3.49	3.41	2.85	1.89	1.88	3.44	2.91	3.39	2.73
SD	0.89	0.90	1.00	0.70	0.89	1.05	1.04	0.77	0.45	0.40	0.72	1.21	1.19	1.19
α	.76	.94	.91	.80	.89	.79	.87	.59	.83	.78	.86	.90	.89	.94

Note. *$p < .05$.

Table 5

Study 1: Models Predicting White Privilege Awareness

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 1					.18
Intercept	3.73*	0.08	[3.57, 3.88]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.39*	0.08	[0.23, 0.54]	0.43	
Step 2					.27
Intercept	3.72*	0.07	[3.58, 3.87]	0.00	
White Shame	0.52*	0.08	[0.36, 0.69]	0.52	
Step 3					.27
Intercept	3.72*	0.07	[3.58, 3.87]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.09	0.11	[-0.13, 0.31]	0.10	
White Shame	0.45*	0.12	[0.20, 0.70]	0.45	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 6

Study 1: Models Predicting Support for Affirmative Action

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 1					.14
Intercept	2.49*	0.06	[2.37, 2.62]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.27*	0.06	[0.14, 0.39]	0.39	
Step 2					.19
Intercept	2.49*	0.06	[2.36, 2.61]	0.00	
White Shame	0.34*	0.07	[0.21, 0.48]	0.44	
Step 3					.19
Intercept	2.49*	0.06	[2.37, 2.61]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.09	0.09	[-0.09, 0.27]	0.13	
White Shame	0.27*	0.10	[0.06, 0.47]	0.34	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 7

Study 1: Models Predicting Image Threat

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 1					.12
Intercept	3.18*	0.08	[3.02, 3.34]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.32*	0.08	[0.16, 0.48]	0.36	
Step 2					.20
Intercept	3.17*	0.08	[3.02, 3.32]	0.00	
White Shame	0.45*	0.09	[0.28, 0.62]	0.45	
Step 3					.19
Intercept	3.17*	0.08	[3.02, 3.33]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.06	0.12	[-0.17, 0.29]	0.06	
White Shame	0.40*	0.13	[0.15, 0.66]	0.41	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 8

Study 1: Models Predicting Modern Racism

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 1					.10
Intercept	3.49*	0.10	[3.29, 3.68]	0.00	
White Guilt	-0.35*	0.10	[-0.54, -0.16]	-0.33	
Step 2					.20
Intercept	3.49*	0.09	[3.31, 3.67]	0.00	
White Shame	-0.53*	0.10	[-0.73, -0.33]	-0.45	
Step 3					.19
Intercept	3.49*	0.09	[3.31, 3.68]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.00	0.14	[-0.27, 0.27]	0.00	
White Shame	-0.53*	0.15	[-0.84, -0.23]	-0.45	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 9

Study 1: Models Predicting Receptive Race Related Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 1					.15
Intercept	3.41*	0.09	[3.23, 3.60]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.42*	0.09	[0.23, 0.60]	0.40	
Step 2					.17
Intercept	3.41*	0.09	[3.22, 3.59]	0.00	
White Shame	0.48*	0.10	[0.28, 0.69]	0.42	
Step 3					.18
Intercept	3.41*	0.09	[3.23, 3.59]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.22	0.13	[-0.10, 0.43]	0.15	
White Shame	0.30	0.15	[-0.00, 0.60]	0.26	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 10

Study 1: Models Predicting Defensive Race Related Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 1					-.01[a]
Intercept	2.85*	0.08	[2.70, 3.00]	0.00	
White Guilt	-0.00	0.08	[-0.16, 0.15]	-0.01	
Step 2					-.01[a]
Intercept	2.85*	0.08	[2.70, 3.00]	0.00	
White Shame	-0.04	0.08	[-0.21, 0.13]	-0.05	
Step 3					-.02[a]
Intercept	2.85*	0.08	[2.70, 3.00]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.05	0.11	[-0.18, 0.27]	0.06	
White Shame	-0.08	0.13	[-0.33, 0.17]	-0.09	

Note. $p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors. [a]R^2 values can only be positive; however, Adjusted R^2 can be negative when little variance is explained with multiple predictors in the model.

Table 11

Study 1: Models Predicting Implicit Positive Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 1					-.01[a]
Intercept	1.89*	0.04	[1.81, 1.98]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.00	0.04	[-0.09, 0.09]	0.00	
Step 2					-.01[a]
Intercept	1.89*	0.04	[1.81, 1.98]	0.00	
White Shame	0.01	0.05	[-0.08, 0.11]	0.03	
Step 3					-.02[a]
Intercept	1.89*	0.04	[1.80, 1.98]	0.00	
White Guilt	-0.02	0.07	[-0.15, 0.11]	-0.04	
White Shame	0.03	0.07	[-0.12, 0.17]	0.05	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors. [a]R^2 values can only be positive; however, Adjusted R^2 can be negative when little variance is explained with multiple predictors in the model.

Table 12

Study 1: Models Predicting Implicit Negative Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 1					-.01[a]
Intercept	1.88*	0.04	[1.80, 1.96]	0.00	
White Guilt	-0.01	0.04	[-0.09, 0.07]	-0.02	
Step 2					-.01[a]
Intercept	1.88*	0.04	[1.80, 1.96]	0.00	
White Shame	-0.02	0.04	[-0.11, 0.06]	-0.05	
Step 3					-.02[a]
Intercept	1.88*	0.04	[1.80, 1.96]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.01	0.06	[-0.10, 0.13]	0.04	
White Shame	-0.03	0.07	[-0.16, 0.10]	-0.08	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors. [a]R^2 values can only be positive; however, Adjusted R^2 can be negative when little variance is explained with multiple predictors in the model.

Table 13

Study 1: Models Predicting Willingness to Confront White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 1					.24
Intercept	3.44*	0.06	[3.32, 3.56]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.36*	0.06	[0.24, 0.48]	0.50	
Step 2					.30
Intercept	3.43*	0.06	[3.32, 3.55]	0.00	
White Shame	0.44*	0.07	[0.31, 0.57]	0.55	
Step 3					.31
Intercept	3.44*	0.06	[3.32, 3.55]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.14	0.09	[-0.03, 0.32]	0.20	
White Shame	0.32*	0.10	[0.13, 0.52]	0.40	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 14

Study 1: Models Predicting Willingness to Self-Educate about White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 1					.10
Intercept	2.92*	0.11	[2.69, 3.14]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.40*	0.11	[0.18, 0.62]	0.33	
Step 2					.07
Intercept	2.91*	0.11	[2.68, 3.13]	0.00	
White Shame	0.39*	0.13	[0.14, 0.64]	0.29	
Step 3					.10
Intercept	2.91*	0.11	[2.69, 3.14]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.31	0.17	[-0.02, 0.64]	0.26	
White Shame	0.13	0.19	[-0.24, 0.50]	0.10	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 15

Study 1: Models Predicting Willingness to Discuss White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 1					.04
Intercept	3.39*	0.11	[3.16, 3.61]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.27*	0.11	[0.04, 0.50]	0.23	
Step 2					.07
Intercept	3.38*	0.11	[3.16, 3.60]	0.00	
White Shame	0.37*	0.13	[0.12, 0.62]	0.28	
Step 3					.06
Intercept	3.38*	0.11	[3.16, 3.61]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.06	0.17	[-0.27, 0.39]	0.05	
White Shame	0.32	0.19	[-0.06, 0.69]	0.24	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 16

Study 1: Models Predicting Willingness to Take Classes about White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 1					.10
Intercept	2.73*	0.11	[2.51, 2.95]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.39*	0.11	[0.17, 0.61]	0.33	
Step 2					.10
Intercept	2.73*	0.11	[2.51, 2.94]	0.00	
White Shame	0.44*	0.12	[0.19, 0.68]	0.33	
Step 3					.11
Intercept	2.73*	0.11	[2.51, 2.95]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.22	0.16	[-0.11, 0.55]	0.19	
White Shame	0.26	0.18	[-0.11, 0.62]	0.19	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 17
Study 2: Intercorrelations of Study Variables

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. White Privilege Awareness	—	.27*	.27*	.55*	.28*	-.73*	.45*	-.30*	.12	.18	.47*	.45*	.32*	.43*
2. White Guilt		—	.77*	.44*	.49*	-.32*	.56*	.01	.16	.22*	.47*	.42*	.31*	.41*
3. White Shame			—	.47*	.46*	-.38*	.58*	.02	.13	.28*	.46*	.42*	.42*	.44*
4. Support for Affirmative Action				—	.41*	-.59*	.48*	.15	.19	.18	.51*	.55*	.45*	.42*
5. Image Threat					—	-.39*	.44*	.10	.13	.20*	.30*	.35*	.24*	.34*
6. Modern Racism						—	-.49*	.32*	.01	-.11	-.47*	-.48*	-.34*	-.43*
7. Receptive Race Related Affect							—	-.17	.08	.18*	.71*	.76*	.65*	.75*
8. Defensive Race Related Affect								—	.11	.24*	-.12	-.22*	-.25*	-.16
9. Implicit Positive Affect									—	.67*	.07	.06	.11	.05
10. Implicit Negative Affect										—	.06	.06	.12	.17
11. Willingness to Confront White Privilege											—	.70*	.66*	.73*
12. Willingness to Self-Educate about White Privilege												—	.81*	.77*
13. Willingness to Discuss White Privilege													—	.76*
14. Willingness to Take Classes about White Privilege														—
M	4.01	3.30	3.42	2.82	3.42	3.35	3.72	2.84	1.78	1.77	3.76	3.54	3.76	3.29
SD	0.95	0.93	0.90	0.62	0.76	1.10	1.01	0.83	0.47	0.48	0.81	1.22	1.30	1.31
α	.74	.94	.93	.75	.84	.77	.90	.71	.84	.84	.92	.91	.92	.96

Note. *$p < .05$.

Table 18

Study 2: Models Predicting Support for Affirmative Action

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.30
Intercept	2.79*	0.05	[2.69, 2.90]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.36*	0.05	[0.25, 0.47]	0.55	
Step 3					.38
Intercept	2.79*	0.05	[2.69, 2.88]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.31*	0.05	[0.20, 0.41]	0.47	
White Guilt	0.21*	0.05	[0.10, 0.31]	0.31	
Step 4					.40
Intercept	2.79*	0.05	[2.69, 2.88]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.30*	0.05	[0.20, 0.41]	0.46	
White Shame	0.24*	0.06	[0.13, 0.35]	0.35	
Step 5					.40
Intercept	2.79*	0.05	[2.69, 2.88]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.30*	0.05	[0.19, 0.40]	0.45	
White Guilt	0.07	0.08	[-0.09, 0.23]	0.11	
White Shame	0.18*	0.08	[0.02, 0.35]	0.27	

	Point Estimate	Product of Coefficients		95% CI	
		SE	*Z*	Lower	Upper
Step 6					
Total Indirect Effects	.07*	.03	2.49	0.02	0.15
Indirect Effect of White Guilt	.02	.02	0.86	-0.01	0.08
Indirect Effect of White Shame	.05	.03	1.76	0.01	0.12
Contrast: Guilt vs. Shame	-.03	.04	-0.67	-0.13	0.03

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors. 95% Confidence intervals are bias corrected and accelerated.

Table 19

Study 2: Models Predicting Image Threat

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.07
Intercept	3.40*	0.07	[3.26, 3.55]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.23*	0.08	[0.08, 0.38]	0.28	
Step 3					.24
Intercept	3.39*	0.07	[3.26, 3.52]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.13	0.07	[-0.01, 0.28]	0.16	
White Guilt	0.36*	0.07	[0.21, 0.50]	0.44	
Step 4					.22
Intercept	3.40*	0.07	[3.26, 3.53]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.14	0.07	[-0.01, 0.29]	0.17	
White Shame	0.34*	0.08	[0.19, 0.50]	0.41	
Step 5					.25
Intercept	3.39*	0.07	[3.26, 3.52]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.12	0.07	[-0.02, 0.27]	0.15	
White Guilt	0.25*	0.11	[0.03, 0.47]	0.30	
White Shame	0.15	0.11	[-0.08, 0.38]	0.18	

	Point	Product of Coefficients		95% CI	
	Estimate	*SE*	*Z*	Lower	Upper
Step 6					
Total Indirect Effects	.11*	.04	2.61	0.04	0.20
Indirect Effect of White Guilt	.07	.04	1.78	0.01	0.16
Indirect Effect of White Shame	.04	.03	1.21	-0.01	0.13
Contrast: Guilt vs. Shame	.03	.06	0.48	-0.08	0.17

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors. 95% Confidence intervals are bias corrected and accelerated.

Table 20

Study 2: Models Predicting Modern Racism

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.52
Intercept	3.40*	0.08	[3.25, 3.55]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	-0.85*	0.08	[-1.01, -0.69]	-0.73	
Step 3					.53
Intercept	3.40*	0.07	[3.26, 3.55]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	-0.81*	0.08	[-0.97, -0.64]	-0.69	
White Guilt	-0.15	0.08	[-0.32, 0.02]	-0.13	
Step 4					.55
Intercept	3.40*	0.07	[3.26, 3.55]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	-0.79*	0.08	[-0.95, -0.63]	-0.67	
White Shame	-0.24*	0.08	[-0.40, -0.07]	-0.19	
Step 5					.55
Intercept	3.40*	0.07	[3.26, 3.55]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	-0.79*	0.08	[-0.95, -0.63]	-0.68	
White Guilt	0.05	0.12	[-0.20, 0.30]	0.04	
White Shame	-0.27*	0.13	[-0.53, -0.02]	-0.22	

	Point Estimate	Product of Coefficients		95% CI	
		SE	*Z*	Lower	Upper
Step 6					
Total Indirect Effects	-.06	.03	-1.81	-0.15	0.00
Indirect Effect of White Guilt	.01	.03	0.40	-0.06	0.12
Indirect Effect of White Shame	-.07	.04	-1.72	-0.20	-0.01
Contrast: Guilt vs. Shame	.08	.07	1.23	-0.03	0.31

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors. 95% Confidence intervals are bias corrected and accelerated.

Table 21

Study 2: Models Predicting Receptive Race Related Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.19
Intercept	3.69*	0.09	[3.51, 3.87]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.48*	0.10	[0.29, 0.67]	0.45	
Step 3					.40
Intercept	3.68*	0.08	[3.52, 3.83]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.34*	0.09	[0.17, 0.51]	0.32	
White Guilt	0.51*	0.09	[0.34, 0.68]	0.47	
Step 4					.42
Intercept	3.68*	0.08	[3.53, 3.83]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.34*	0.08	[0.17, 0.50]	0.31	
White Shame	0.56*	0.09	[0.38, 0.73]	0.49	
Step 5					.43
Intercept	3.68*	0.08	[3.53, 3.83]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.32*	0.08	[0.15, 0.49]	0.30	
White Guilt	0.25	0.13	[-0.00, 0.51]	0.23	
White Shame	0.36*	0.13	[0.10, 0.62]	0.32	

	Point	Product of Coefficients		95% CI	
	Estimate	*SE*	*Z*	Lower	Upper
Step 6					
Total Indirect Effects	.16*	.06	2.77	0.05	0.31
Indirect Effect of White Guilt	.07	.04	1.65	0.00	0.19
Indirect Effect of White Shame	.09*	.05	1.98	0.02	0.24
Contrast: Guilt vs. Shame	-.02	.07	-0.36	-0.20	0.10

Note. *$p < .05$. 95% Confidence intervals are bias corrected and accelerated.

Table 22

Study 2: Models Predicting Defensive Race Related Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.08
Intercept	2.84*	0.08	[2.69, 3.00]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	-0.26*	0.08	[-0.43, -0.09]	-0.30	
Step 3					.08
Intercept	2.84*	0.08	[2.69, 3.00]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	-0.28*	0.09	[-0.46, -0.11]	-0.32	
White Guilt	0.09	0.09	[-0.09, 0.26]	0.10	
Step 4					.08
Intercept	2.84*	0.08	[2.69, 3.00]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	-0.29*	0.09	[-0.46, -0.11]	-0.33	
White Shame	0.10	0.09	[-0.09, 0.28]	0.10	
Step 5					.07
Intercept	2.84*	0.08	[2.68, 3.00]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	-0.29*	0.09	[-0.46, -0.11]	-0.33	
White Guilt	0.04	0.13	[-0.23, 0.31]	0.05	
White Shame	0.06	0.14	[-0.21, 0.34]	0.07	

	Point	Product of Coefficients		95% CI	
	Estimate	*SE*	*Z*	Lower	Upper
Step 6					
Total Indirect Effects	.03	.03	1.03	-0.02	0.11
Indirect Effect of White Guilt	.01	.04	0.30	-0.07	0.09
Indirect Effect of White Shame	.02	.04	0.47	-0.06	0.13
Contrast: Guilt vs. Shame	-.01	.07	-0.09	-0.19	0.15

Note. *$p < .05$. 95% Confidence intervals are bias corrected and accelerated.

Table 23

Study 2: Models Predicting Implicit Positive Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.00
Intercept	1.77*	0.05	[1.68, 1.87]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.06	0.05	[-0.04, 0.16]	0.12	
Step 3					.01
Intercept	1.77*	0.05	[1.68, 1.86]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.04	0.05	[-0.06, 0.14]	0.08	
White Guilt	0.07	0.05	[-0.04, 0.17]	0.13	
Step 4					.00
Intercept	1.77*	0.05	[1.68, 1.87]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.05	0.05	[-0.06, 0.15]	0.09	
White Shame	0.05	0.05	[-0.05, 0.16]	0.10	
Step 5					.00
Intercept	1.77*	0.05	[1.68, 1.86]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.04	0.05	[-0.06, 0.14]	0.08	
White Guilt	0.07	0.08	[-0.09, 0.22]	0.13	
White Shame	0.00	0.08	[-0.16, 0.16]	0.00	

	Point Estimate	Product of Coefficients		95% CI	
		SE	*Z*	Lower	Upper
Step 6					
Total Indirect Effects	.02	.02	1.13	-0.01	0.06
Indirect Effect of White Guilt	.02	.02	0.82	-0.02	0.08
Indirect Effect of White Shame	.00	.02	0.01	-0.05	0.05
Contrast: Guilt vs. Shame	.02	.04	0.44	-0.06	0.11

Note. *$p < .05$. 95% Confidence intervals are bias corrected and accelerated.

Table 24

Study 2: Models Predicting Implicit Negative Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.02
Intercept	1.77*	0.05	[1.68, 1.86]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.09	0.05	[-0.01, 0.19]	0.18	
Step 3					.05
Intercept	1.77*	0.05	[1.68, 1.86]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.06	0.05	[-0.04, 0.17]	0.13	
White Guilt	0.10	0.05	[-0.01, 0.20]	0.19	
Step 4					.07
Intercept	1.77*	0.05	[1.68, 1.86]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.06	0.05	[-0.04, 0.16]	0.11	
White Shame	0.13*	0.05	[0.03, 0.24]	0.25	
Step 5					.06
Intercept	1.77*	0.05	[1.68, 1.86]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.06	0.05	[-0.05, 0.16]	0.11	
White Guilt	0.00	0.08	[-0.15, 0.16]	0.00	
White Shame	0.13	0.08	[-0.03, 0.29]	0.25	

	Point	Product of Coefficients		95% CI	
	Estimate	*SE*	*Z*	Lower	Upper
Step 6					
Total Indirect Effects	.03*	.02	1.81	0.00	0.09
Indirect Effect of White Guilt	.00	.02	0.02	-0.05	0.05
Indirect Effect of White Shame	.03	.02	1.43	-0.01	0.12
Contrast: Guilt vs. Shame	-.03	.04	-0.83	-0.17	0.04

Note. *$p < .05$. 95% Confidence intervals are bias corrected and accelerated.

Table 25

Study 2: Models Predicting Willingness to Confront White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.21
Intercept	3.74*	0.07	[3.60, 3.88]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.41*	0.08	[0.25, 0.56]	0.47	
Step 3					.34
Intercept	3.73*	0.07	[3.60, 3.86]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.32*	0.07	[0.17, 0.46]	0.37	
White Guilt	0.32*	0.07	[0.18, 0.47]	0.37	
Step 4					.33
Intercept	3.73*	0.07	[3.60, 3.86]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.32*	0.07	[0.18, 0.47]	0.37	
White Shame	0.32*	0.08	[0.17, 0.48]	0.36	
Step 5					.34
Intercept	3.73*	0.07	[3.60, 3.86]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.31*	0.07	[0.16, 0.45]	0.36	
White Guilt	0.20	0.11	[-0.02, 0.42]	0.23	
White Shame	0.17	0.11	[-0.06, 0.39]	0.18	

	Point	Product of Coefficients		95% CI	
	Estimate	*SE*	*Z*	Lower	Upper
Step 6					
Total Indirect Effects	.10*	.04	2.56	0.03	0.21
Indirect Effect of White Guilt	.05	.04	1.56	0.00	0.16
Indirect Effect of White Shame	.04	.03	1.31	-0.01	0.13
Contrast: Guilt vs. Shame	.01	.06	0.20	-0.09	0.14

Note. *$p < .05$. 95% Confidence intervals are bias corrected and accelerated.

Table 26

Study 2: Models Predicting Willingness to Self-Educate About White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.20
Intercept	3.49*	0.11	[3.28, 3.71]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.58*	0.11	[0.35, 0.81]	0.45	
Step 3					.28
Intercept	3.48*	0.10	[3.28, 3.68]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.47*	0.11	[0.24, 0.69]	0.36	
White Guilt	0.42*	0.11	[0.19, 0.64]	0.32	
Step 4					.28
Intercept	3.48*	0.10	[3.28, 3.69]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.47*	0.11	[0.25, 0.69]	0.36	
White Shame	0.43*	0.12	[0.20, 0.67]	0.32	
Step 5					.29
Intercept	3.48*	0.10	[3.28, 3.68]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.45*	0.11	[0.23, 0.68]	0.35	
White Guilt	0.23	0.17	[-0.11, 0.57]	0.18	
White Shame	0.25	0.18	[-0.10, 0.61]	0.19	

	Point	Product of Coefficients		95% CI	
	Estimate	*SE*	*Z*	Lower	Upper
Step 6					
Total Indirect Effects	.13*	.05	2.42	0.03	0.29
Indirect Effect of White Guilt	.06	.05	1.24	-0.02	0.24
Indirect Effect of White Shame	.07	.05	1.29	-0.03	0.20
Contrast: Guilt vs. Shame	-.00	.09	-0.03	-0.18	0.23

Note. *$p < .05$. 95% Confidence intervals are bias corrected and accelerated.

Table 27

Study 2: Models Predicting Willingness to Discuss White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.09
Intercept	3.73*	0.12	[3.48, 3.97]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.44*	0.13	[0.18, 0.70]	0.32	
Step 3					.14
Intercept	3.72*	0.12	[3.48, 3.95]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.35*	0.13	[0.09, 0.61]	0.25	
White Guilt	0.33*	0.13	[0.06, 0.59]	0.24	
Step 4					.21
Intercept	3.72*	0.12	[3.49, 3.94]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.30*	0.13	[0.05, 0.55]	0.22	
White Shame	0.53*	0.13	[0.26, 0.79]	0.36	
Step 5					.20
Intercept	3.72*	0.12	[3.49, 3.95]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.31*	0.13	[0.06, 0.56]	0.22	
White Guilt	-0.12	0.19	[-0.51, 0.27]	-0.09	
White Shame	0.62*	0.20	[0.22, 1.02]	0.43	

	Point	Product of Coefficients		95% CI	
	Estimate	*SE*	*Z*	Lower	Upper
Step 6					
Total Indirect Effects	.13*	.06	2.11	0.01	0.30
Indirect Effect of White Guilt	-.03	.05	-0.61	-0.16	0.11
Indirect Effect of White Shame	.16*	.08	2.10	0.04	0.38
Contrast: Guilt vs. Shame	-.19	.12	-1.64	-0.52	0.00

Note. *$p < .05$. 95% Confidence intervals are bias corrected and accelerated.

Table 28

Study 2: Models Predicting Willingness to Take Classes about White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.18
Intercept	3.24*	0.12	[3.01, 3.48]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.60*	0.13	[0.34, 0.85]	0.43	
Step 3					.26
Intercept	3.24*	0.11	[3.01, 3.46]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.48*	0.13	[0.23, 0.73]	0.35	
White Guilt	0.43*	0.13	[0.18, 0.68]	0.31	
Step 4					.28
Intercept	3.24*	0.11	[3.02, 3.46]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.46*	0.12	[0.22, 0.71]	0.34	
White Shame	0.50*	0.13	[0.24, 0.75]	0.34	
Step 5					.28
Intercept	3.24*	0.11	[3.02, 3.46]	0.00	
White Privilege Awareness	0.45*	0.12	[0.21, 0.70]	0.33	
White Guilt	0.15	0.19	[-0.22, 0.52]	0.11	
White Shame	0.38*	0.19	[-0.01, 0.76]	0.26	

	Point	Product of Coefficients		95% CI	
	Estimate	*SE*	*Z*	Lower	Upper
Step 6					
Total Indirect Effects	.14*	.06	2.40	0.04	0.31
Indirect Effect of White Guilt	.04	.05	0.80	-0.06	0.20
Indirect Effect of White Shame	.10	.06	1.63	0.00	0.28
Contrast: Guilt vs. Shame	-.06	.10	-0.58	-0.32	0.14

Note. *$p < .05$. 95% Confidence intervals are bias corrected and accelerated.

Table 29
Study 3: Intercorrelations of Study Variables

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. White Privilege Awareness	—	.38*	.47*	.58*	.45*	-.77*	.58*	-.24*	.09	.09	.55*	.59*	.45*	.56*
2. White Guilt		—	.69*	.46*	.44*	-.39*	.47*	.12	.11*	.08	.51*	.40*	.30*	.39*
3. White Shame			—	.48*	.50*	-.50*	.59*	.05	.15*	.09	.61*	.54*	.46*	.49*
4. Support for Affirmative Action				—	.46*	-.53*	.57*	-.07	.08	.07	.57*	.49*	.36*	.45*
5. Image Threat					—	-.46*	.51*	-.03	.07	.11	.46*	.48*	.41*	.43*
6. Modern Racism						—	-.55*	.25*	-.03	-.02	-.52*	-.59*	-.45*	-.48*
7. Receptive Race Related Affect							—	.01	.22*	.18	.76*	.70*	.62*	.69*
8. Defensive Race Related Affect								—	.05	.13*	-.04	-.15*	-.12	-.12
9. Implicit Positive Affect									—	.62*	.15*	.17*	.20*	.17*
10. Implicit Negative Affect										—	.12	.13*	.18*	.15*
11. Willingness to Confront White Privilege											—	.72*	.60*	.72*
12. Willingness to Self-Educate about White Privilege												—	.71*	.80*
13. Willingness to Discuss White Privilege													—	.70*
14. Willingness to Take Classes about White Privilege														—
M	3.73	3.07	3.19	2.49	3.17	3.49	3.41	2.85	1.89	1.88	3.44	2.91	3.39	2.73
SD	0.89	1.00	0.90	0.70	0.89	1.05	1.04	0.77	0.45	0.40	0.72	1.21	1.19	1.19
α	.80	.95	.93	.77	.87	.79	.88	.70	.83	.82	.92	.92	.94	.95

Note. *$p < .05$.

Table 30

Study 3: Models Predicting Support for Affirmative Action

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.00
Intercept	2.64*	0.06	[2.52, 2.76]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	-0.09	0.08	[-0.26, 0.08]	-0.07	
Step 3					.22
Intercept	2.66*	0.05	[2.56, 2.76]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	-0.13	0.08	[-0.28, 0.02]	-0.10	
White Guilt	0.28*	0.04	[0.21, 0.35]	0.47	
Step 4					.24
Intercept	2.66*	0.05	[2.56, 2.76]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	-0.14	0.07	[-0.29, 0.00]	-0.11	
White Shame	0.32*	0.04	[0.24, 0.39]	0.49	
Step 5					.27
Intercept	2.67*	0.05	[2.57, 2.77]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	-0.15*	0.07	[-0.29, -0.00]	-0.11	
White Guilt	0.15*	0.05	[0.05, 0.24]	0.25	
White Shame	0.21*	0.05	[0.11, 0.31]	0.32	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 31

Study 3: Models Predicting Image Threat

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					-.00[a]
Intercept	3.15*	0.08	[2.98, 3.31]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.09	0.12	[-0.14, 0.32]	0.05	
Step 3					.19
Intercept	3.17*	0.07	[3.03, 3.32]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.04	0.11	[-0.17, 0.25]	0.02	
White Guilt	0.36*	0.05	[0.27, 0.46]	0.44	
Step 4					.25
Intercept	3.18*	0.07	[3.04, 3.32]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.02	0.10	[-0.19, 0.22]	0.01	
White Shame	0.45*	0.05	[0.35, 0.56]	0.50	
Step 5					.26
Intercept	3.18*	0.07	[3.04, 3.32]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.01	0.10	[-0.19, 0.22]	0.01	
White Guilt	0.15*	0.07	[0.02, 0.28]	0.18	
White Shame	0.34*	0.07	[0.20, 0.49]	0.38	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors. [a]R^2 values can only be positive; however, Adjusted R^2 can be negative when little variance is explained with multiple predictors in the model.

Table 32

Study 3: Models Predicting Modern Racism

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.01
Intercept	3.50*	0.10	[3.30, 3.70]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	-0.27	0.14	[-0.56, 0.01]	-0.12	
Step 3					.16
Intercept	3.47*	0.09	[3.29, 3.66]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	-0.21	0.13	[-0.48, 0.05]	-0.10	
White Guilt	-0.39*	0.06	[-0.52, -0.27]	-0.39	
Step 4					.25
Intercept	3.47*	0.09	[3.29, 3.64]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	-0.19	0.13	[-0.44, 0.06]	-0.09	
White Shame	-0.55*	0.06	[-0.68, -0.42]	-0.49	
Step 5					.25
Intercept	3.47*	0.09	[3.29, 3.64]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	-0.19	0.13	[-0.43, 0.06]	-0.08	
White Guilt	-0.09	0.08	[-0.25, 0.07]	-0.09	
White Shame	-0.48*	0.09	[-0.66, -0.30]	-0.43	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 33

Study 3: Models Predicting Receptive Race Related Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.01
Intercept	3.44*	0.10	[3.25, 3.63]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.28*	0.14	[0.01, 0.56]	0.14	
Step 3					.23
Intercept	3.47*	0.09	[3.31, 3.64]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.22	0.12	[-0.02, 0.46]	0.11	
White Guilt	0.45*	0.06	[0.34, 0.56]	0.47	
Step 4					.35
Intercept	3.49*	0.08	[3.35, 3.64]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.18	0.11	[-0.04, 0.40]	0.09	
White Shame	0.62*	0.06	[0.51, 0.73]	0.58	
Step 5					.36
Intercept	3.49*	0.08	[3.34, 3.64]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.18	0.11	[-0.04, 0.40]	0.09	
White Guilt	0.11	0.07	[-0.03, 0.25]	0.11	
White Shame	0.53*	0.08	[0.38, 0.69]	0.51	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 34

Study 3: Models Predicting Defensive Race Related Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					-.00[a]
Intercept	2.90*	0.08	[2.74, 3.06]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.02	0.12	[-0.20, 0.25]	0.01	
Step 3					.01
Intercept	2.90*	0.08	[2.75, 3.06]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.01	0.12	[-0.22, 0.24]	0.01	
White Guilt	0.09	0.05	[-0.01, 0.20]	0.12	
Step 4					-.01[a]
Intercept	2.90*	0.08	[2.74, 3.06]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.02	0.12	[-0.21, 0.25]	0.01	
White Shame	0.04	0.06	[-0.07, 0.16]	0.05	
Step 5					.00
Intercept	2.90*	0.08	[2.74, 3.06]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.02	0.12	[-0.21, 0.24]	0.01	
White Guilt	0.13	0.07	[-0.02, 0.28]	0.16	
White Shame	-0.06	0.08	[-0.22, 0.10]	-0.07	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors. [a]R^2 values can only be positive; however, Adjusted R^2 can be negative when little variance is explained with multiple predictors in the model.

Table 35

Study 3: Models Predicting Implicit Positive Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					-.00[a]
Intercept	1.86*	0.04	[1.77, 1.94]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.01	0.06	[-0.11, 0.13]	0.01	
Step 3					.00
Intercept	1.86*	0.04	[1.77, 1.94]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.00	0.06	[-0.11, 0.13]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.05	0.03	[-0.01, 0.10]	0.11	
Step 4					.01
Intercept	1.86*	0.04	[1.78, 1.94]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	-0.00	0.06	[-0.12, 0.12]	0.00	
White Shame	0.07*	0.03	[0.01, 0.13]	0.15	
Step 5					.01
Intercept	1.86*	0.04	[1.78, 1.95]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.00	0.06	[-0.12, 0.12]	0.00	
White Guilt	0.01	0.04	[-0.07, 0.09]	0.02	
White Shame	0.06	0.04	[-0.02, 0.15]	0.13	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors. [a]R^2 values can only be positive; however, Adjusted R^2 can be negative when little variance is explained with multiple predictors in the model.

Table 36

Study 3: Models Predicting Implicit Negative Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.00
Intercept	1.77*	0.04	[1.69, 1.85]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.06	0.06	[-0.05, 0.18]	0.07	
Step 3					.00
Intercept	1.76*	0.04	[1.69, 1.86]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.06	0.06	[-0.06, 0.17]	0.06	
White Guilt	0.03	0.03	[-0.02, 0.08]	0.07	
Step 4					.00
Intercept	1.78*	0.04	[1.69, 1.86]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.06	0.06	[-0.06, 0.17]	0.06	
White Shame	0.03	0.03	[-0.03, 0.09]	0.07	
Step 5					-.00[a]
Intercept	1.78*	0.04	[1.69, 1.86]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.06	0.06	[-0.06, 0.17]	0.06	
White Guilt	0.02	0.04	[-0.05, 0.10]	0.05	
White Shame	0.01	0.04	[-0.07, 0.09]	0.03	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors. [a]R^2 values can only be positive; however, Adjusted R^2 can be negative when little variance is explained with multiple predictors in the model.

Table 37

Study 3: Models Predicting Willingness to Confront White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.01
Intercept	3.52*	0.08	[3.36, 3.68]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.23*	0.11	[0.00, 0.45]	0.13	
Step 3					.26
Intercept	3.55*	0.07	[3.42, 3.69]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.17	0.10	[-0.03, 0.36]	0.10	
White Guilt	0.41*	0.05	[0.31, 0.50]	0.50	
Step 4					.38
Intercept	3.56*	0.06	[3.43, 3.68]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.14	0.09	[-0.04, 0.32]	0.08	
White Shame	0.54*	0.05	[0.45, 0.63]	0.61	
Step 5					.39
Intercept	3.56*	0.06	[3.44, 3.69]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.14	0.09	[-0.04, 0.32]	0.08	
White Guilt	0.13*	0.06	[0.01, 0.24]	0.15	
White Shame	0.44*	0.06	[0.32, 0.57]	0.50	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 38

Study 3: Models Predicting Willingness to Self-Educate About White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.01
Intercept	3.08*	0.12	[2.84, 3.32]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.35*	0.18	[0.01, 0.70]	0.13	
Step 3					.16
Intercept	3.12*	0.11	[2.89, 3.34]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.28	0.16	[-0.04, 0.60]	0.11	
White Guilt	0.48*	0.08	[0.33, 0.63]	0.39	
Step 4					.29
Intercept	3.13*	0.10	[2.93, 3.33]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.24	0.15	[-0.06, 0.53]	0.09	
White Shame	0.72*	0.08	[0.57, 0.87]	0.53	
Step 5					.29
Intercept	3.13*	0.10	[2.93, 3.34]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.24	0.15	[-0.06, 0.53]	0.09	
White Guilt	0.05	0.10	[-0.14, 0.24]	0.04	
White Shame	0.68*	0.11	[0.47, 0.89]	0.50	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 39

Study 3: Models Predicting Willingness to Discuss White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.00
Intercept	3.24*	0.13	[2.99, 3.49]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.20	0.18	[-0.17, 0.56]	0.07	
Step 3					.08
Intercept	3.27*	0.12	[3.03, 3.51]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.14	0.18	[-0.21, 0.48]	0.05	
White Guilt	0.38*	0.08	[0.22, 0.54]	0.30	
Step 4					.21
Intercept	3.29*	0.11	[3.06, 3.51]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.08	0.16	[-0.24, 0.41]	0.03	
White Shame	0.64*	0.08	[0.48, 0.81]	0.46	
Step 5					.20
Intercept	3.28*	0.11	[3.06, 3.51]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.08	0.16	[-0.24, 0.41]	0.03	
White Guilt	-0.04	0.11	[-0.25, 0.16]	-0.03	
White Shame	0.68*	0.12	[0.45, 0.90]	0.48	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 40

Study 3: Models Predicting Willingness to Take Classes about White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.01
Intercept	2.86*	0.13	[2.61, 3.10]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.32	0.18	[-0.04, 0.67]	0.12	
Step 3					.15
Intercept	2.89*	0.12	[2.66, 3.11]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.25	0.17	[-0.08, 0.58]	0.09	
White Guilt	0.49*	0.08	[0.33, 0.64]	0.39	
Step 4					.24
Intercept	2.88*	0.11	[2.67, 3.10]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.22	0.16	[-0.10, 0.53]	0.08	
White Shame	0.68*	0.08	[0.52, 0.84]	0.49	
Step 5					.25
Intercept	2.89*	0.11	[2.67, 3.10]	0.00	
Ingroup Advantage Cond.	0.21	0.16	[-0.10, 0.53]	0.08	
White Guilt	0.13	0.10	[-0.07, 0.33]	0.10	
White Shame	0.58*	0.11	[0.36, 0.80]	0.42	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 41
Study 4: Intercorrelations of Study Variables

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. White Privilege Awareness	—	.36*	.38*	.47*	.39*	-.58*	.54*	-.05	.05	-.04	.50*	.52*	.39*	.46*
2. White Guilt		—	.71*	.33*	.46*	-.30*	.52*	.33*	.03	.01	.38*	.42*	.29*	.43*
3. White Shame			—	.43*	.49*	-.30*	.65*	.45*	.21*	.12	.48*	.43*	.33*	.37*
4. Support for Affirmative Action				—	.37*	-.58*	.61*	.08	.03	-.06	.56*	.43*	.34	.56*
5. Image Threat					—	-.50*	.56*	.17	.07	-.03	.51*	.38*	.35*	.40*
6. Modern Racism						—	-.54*	-.02	.08	.07	-.56*	-.40*	-.41*	-.43*
7. Receptive Race Related Affect							—	.15	.08	.04	.77*	.68*	.59*	.73*
8. Defensive Race Related Affect								—	.15	.20*	.01	-.12	-.07	-.12
9. Implicit Positive Affect									—	.45*	-.03	.03	.00	-.00
10. Implicit Negative Affect										—	-.01	-.06	-.03	-.05
11. Willingness to Confront White Privilege											—	.70*	.64*	.73*
12. Willingness to Self-Educate about White Privilege												—	.67*	.80*
13. Willingness to Discuss White Privilege													—	.66*
14. Willingness to Take Classes about White Privilege														—
M	3.88	3.39	3.43	2.61	3.33	3.19	3.77	2.79	2.09	1.89	3.84	3.35	3.61	3.13
SD	0.82	0.90	0.74	0.60	0.76	0.93	0.93	1.03	0.42	0.43	0.74	1.16	1.14	1.13
α	.69	.93	.88	.74	.82	.73	.86	.69	.58	.78	.89	.89	.89	.93

Note. *$p < .05$.

Table 42

Study 4: Models Predicting Support for Affirmative Action

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					-.01
Intercept	2.58*	0.08	[2.41, 2.75]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.06	0.12	[-0.17, 0.29]	0.05	
Step 3					.09
Intercept	2.58*	0.08	[2.42, 2.74]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.06	0.11	[-0.16, 0.28]	0.05	
White Guilt	0.22*	0.06	[0.10, 0.34]	0.33	
Step 4					.18
Intercept	2.57*	0.08	[2.42, 2.72]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.08	0.10	[-0.13, 0.29]	0.07	
White Shame	0.35*	0.07	[0.21, 0.49]	0.43	
Step 5					.17
Intercept	2.57*	0.08	[2.42, 2.72]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.08	0.10	[-0.13, 0.29]	0.07	
White Guilt	0.03	0.08	[-0.14, 0.19]	0.04	
White Shame	0.33*	0.10	[0.13, 0.53]	0.41	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 43

Study 4: Models Predicting Image Threat

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					-.00
Intercept	3.39*	0.11	[3.18, 3.60]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	-0.10	0.14	[-0.39, 0.18]	-0.07	
Step 3					.20
Intercept	3.39*	0.09	[3.21, 3.58]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	-0.10	0.13	[-0.36, 0.15]	-0.07	
White Guilt	0.39*	0.07	[0.24, 0.53]	0.46	
Step 4					.22
Intercept	3.38*	0.09	[3.19, 3.56]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	-0.08	0.13	[-0.33, 0.18]	-0.05	
White Shame	0.49*	0.09	[0.32, 0.66]	0.48	
Step 5					.25
Intercept	3.38*	0.09	[3.20, 3.57]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	-0.09	0.13	[-0.33, 0.16]	-0.06	
White Guilt	0.20*	0.10	[0.00, 0.39]	0.24	
White Shame	0.32*	0.12	[0.09, 0.56]	0.32	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 44

Study 4: Models Predicting Modern Racism

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					-.01
Intercept	3.13*	0.13	[2.87, 3.39]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	-0.11	0.18	[-0.25, 0.46]	0.06	
Step 3					.08
Intercept	3.13*	0.13	[2.88, 3.38]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.11	0.17	[-0.23, 0.44]	0.06	
White Guilt	-0.31*	0.09	[-0.50, -0.13]	-0.30	
Step 4					.08
Intercept	3.14*	0.13	[2.89, 3.39]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.09	0.17	[-0.25, 0.43]	0.05	
White Shame	-0.38*	0.12	[-0.61, -0.15]	-0.30	
Step 5					.09
Intercept	3.14*	0.13	[2.89, 3.38]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.09	0.17	[-0.24, 0.43]	0.05	
White Guilt	-0.18	0.13	[-0.45, 0.08]	-0.18	
White Shame	-0.22	0.16	[-0.54, 0.10]	-0.18	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 45

Study 4: Models Predicting Receptive Race Related Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					-.01
Intercept	3.77*	0.13	[3.51, 4.03]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.01	0.18	[-0.34, 0.36]	0.01	
Step 3					.26
Intercept	3.78*	0.11	[3.55, 4.00]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.01	0.15	[-0.29, 0.32]	0.01	
White Guilt	0.54*	0.08	[0.37, 0.71]	0.52	
Step 4					.41
Intercept	3.75*	0.10	[3.55, 3.95]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.06	0.14	[-0.21, 0.33]	0.03	
White Shame	0.81*	0.09	[0.63, 0.99]	0.65	
Step 5					.42
Intercept	3.75*	0.10	[3.55, 3.95]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.05	0.14	[-0.22, 0.32]	0.03	
White Guilt	0.13	0.11	[-0.08, 0.35]	0.13	
White Shame	0.70*	0.13	[0.44, 0.95]	0.56	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 46

Study 4: Models Predicting Defensive Race Related Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					-.00
Intercept	2.65*	0.11	[2.43, 2.87]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.15	0.15	[-0.15, 0.45]	0.09	
Step 3					.10
Intercept	2.65*	0.11	[2.44, 2.86]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.15	0.14	[-0.13, 0.43]	0.09	
White Guilt	0.29*	0.08	[0.13, 0.44]	0.33	
Step 4					.20
Intercept	2.64*	0.10	[2.44, 2.83]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.17	0.13	[-0.09, 0.44]	0.11	
White Shame	0.49*	0.09	[0.31, 0.66]	0.46	
Step 5					.20
Intercept	2.64*	0.10	[2.44, 2.83]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.17	0.14	[-0.09, 0.44]	0.11	
White Guilt	0.00	0.11	[-0.21, 0.22]	0.01	
White Shame	0.48*	0.13	[0.23, 0.74]	0.45	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 47

Study 4: Models Predicting Implicit Positive Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.03
Intercept	2.17*	0.06	[2.05, 2.28]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	-0.16*	0.08	[-0.31, -0.00]	-0.19	
Step 3					.02
Intercept	2.17*	0.05	[2.05, 2.28]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	-0.16	0.08	[-0.31, 0.00]	-0.19	
White Guilt	0.01	0.04	[-0.07, 0.10]	0.03	
Step 4					.06
Intercept	2.16*	0.06	[2.05, 2.27]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	-0.15	0.08	[-0.31, 0.00]	-0.18	
White Shame	0.11*	0.05	[0.01, 0.22]	0.20	
Step 5					.07
Intercept	2.16*	0.06	[2.05, 2.27]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	-0.15	0.08	[-0.30, 0.01]	-0.17	
White Guilt	-0.10	0.06	[-0.22, 0.02]	-0.22	
White Shame	0.20*	0.07	[0.05, 0.35]	0.35	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 48

Study 4: Models Predicting Implicit Negative Affect

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.00
Intercept	1.94*	0.06	[1.82, 2.06]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	-0.10	0.08	[-0.26, 0.06]	-0.12	
Step 3					-.00
Intercept	1.94*	0.06	[1.82, 2.06]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	-0.10	0.08	[-0.26, 0.06]	-0.12	
White Guilt	0.00	0.05	[-0.01, 0.09]	0.01	
Step 4					.01
Intercept	1.94*	0.06	[1.82, 2.06]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	-0.10	0.08	[-0.26, 0.07]	-0.11	
White Shame	0.06	0.06	[-0.04, 0.18]	0.11	
Step 5					.01
Intercept	1.94*	0.06	[1.82, 2.06]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	-0.09	0.08	[-0.26, 0.07]	-0.11	
White Guilt	-0.07	0.06	[-0.20, 0.06]	-0.14	
White Shame	0.12	0.08	[-0.03, 0.28]	0.21	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 49

Study 4: Models Predicting Willingness to Confront White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					-.01
Intercept	3.82*	0.10	[3.62, 4.03]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.05	0.11	[-0.23, 0.33]	0.03	
Step 3					.13
Intercept	3.82*	0.10	[3.63, 4.02]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.05	0.13	[-0.21, 0.31]	0.04	
White Guilt	0.31*	0.07	[0.16, 0.46]	0.38	
Step 4					.22
Intercept	3.81*	0.09	[3.63, 3.99]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.08	0.12	[-0.17, 0.33]	0.05	
White Shame	0.49*	0.08	[0.32, 0.65]	0.49	
Step 5					.22
Intercept	3.81*	0.09	[3.63, 3.99]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.08	0.13	[-0.17, 0.32]	0.05	
White Guilt	0.05	0.10	[-0.14, 0.25]	0.06	
White Shame	0.44*	0.12	[0.20, 0.68]	0.44	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 50

Study 4: Models Predicting Willingness to Self-Educate About White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					-.01
Intercept	3.31*	0.16	[2.99, 3.64]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.09	0.22	[-0.36, 0.53]	0.04	
Step 3					.17
Intercept	3.32*	0.15	[3.02, 3.61]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.09	0.20	[-0.31, 0.49]	0.04	
White Guilt	0.55*	0.11	[0.33, 0.77]	0.42	
Step 4					.17
Intercept	3.29*	0.15	[3.00, 3.59]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.12	0.20	[-0.28, 0.52]	0.05	
White Shame	0.68*	0.14	[0.41, 0.95]	0.43	
Step 5					.19
Intercept	3.30*	0.15	[3.01, 3.59]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.11	0.20	[-0.29, 0.51]	0.05	
White Guilt	0.31	0.16	[-0.00, 0.62]	0.24	
White Shame	0.41*	0.19	[0.04, 0.79]	0.26	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 51

Study 4: Models Predicting Willingness to Discuss White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					.00
Intercept	3.48*	0.16	[3.17, 3.80]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.26	0.22	[-0.16, 0.69]	0.12	
Step 3					.08
Intercept	3.48*	0.15	[3.18, 3.79]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.27	0.21	[-0.15, 0.68]	0.12	
White Guilt	0.36*	0.12	[0.14, 0.59]	0.29	
Step 4					.11
Intercept	3.47*	0.15	[3.17, 3.76]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.29	0.20	[-0.11, 0.70]	0.13	
White Shame	0.52*	0.14	[0.24, 0.79]	0.34	
Step 5					.11
Intercept	3.47*	0.15	[3.17, 3.77]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.29	0.20	[-0.12, 0.69]	0.13	
White Guilt	0.13	0.16	[-0.18, 0.45]	0.10	
White Shame	0.40*	0.19	[0.02, 0.79]	0.26	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

Table 52

Study 4: Models Predicting Willingness to Take Classes about White Privilege

Model	*b*	*SE*	*95% CI*	*b**	Adjusted R^2
Step 2					-.01
Intercept	3.12*	0.16	[2.79, 3.42]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.07	0.22	[-0.36, 0.49]	0.03	
Step 3					.17
Intercept	3.11*	0.14	[2.82, 3.39]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.07	0.20	[-0.32, 0.46]	0.03	
White Guilt	0.54*	0.11	[0.32, 0.75]	0.43	
Step 4					.13
Intercept	3.09*	0.15	[2.80, 3.38]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.10	0.20	[-0.30, 0.50]	0.04	
White Shame	0.57*	0.14	[0.30, 0.84]	0.38	
Step 5					.17
Intercept	3.10*	0.14	[2.82, 3.39]	0.00	
Self-Compassion Condition	0.08	0.20	[-0.31, 0.47]	0.04	
White Guilt	0.41*	0.15	[0.11, 0.72]	0.33	
White Shame	0.21	0.19	[-0.16, 0.58]	0.14	

Note. *$p < .05$. *b* = unstandardized predictors, *b** = standardized predictors.

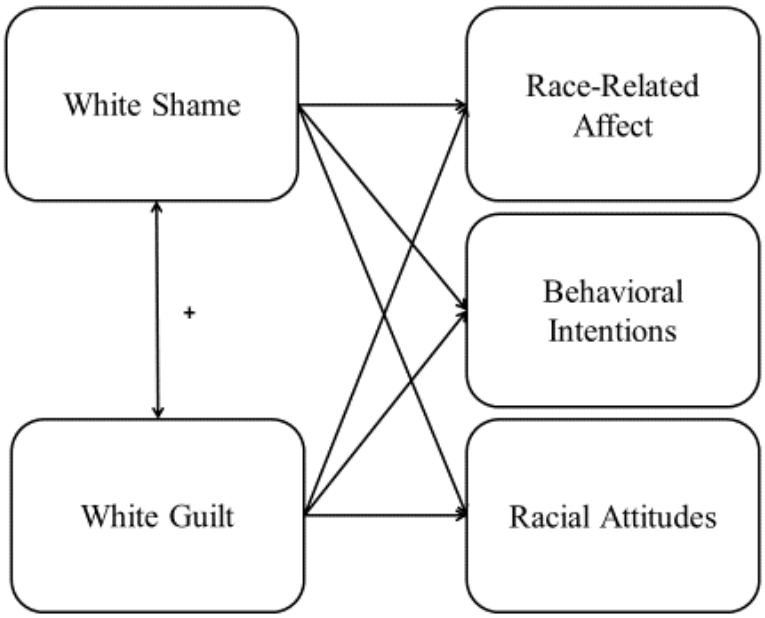

Figure 1. Conceptual model of hypotheses for Study 1. The direction of hypothesized paths between the predictor and White shame and guilt are given as a "+" or "-" to indicate the direction of association. More specific links between White shame and guilt and study outcomes are given in the text.

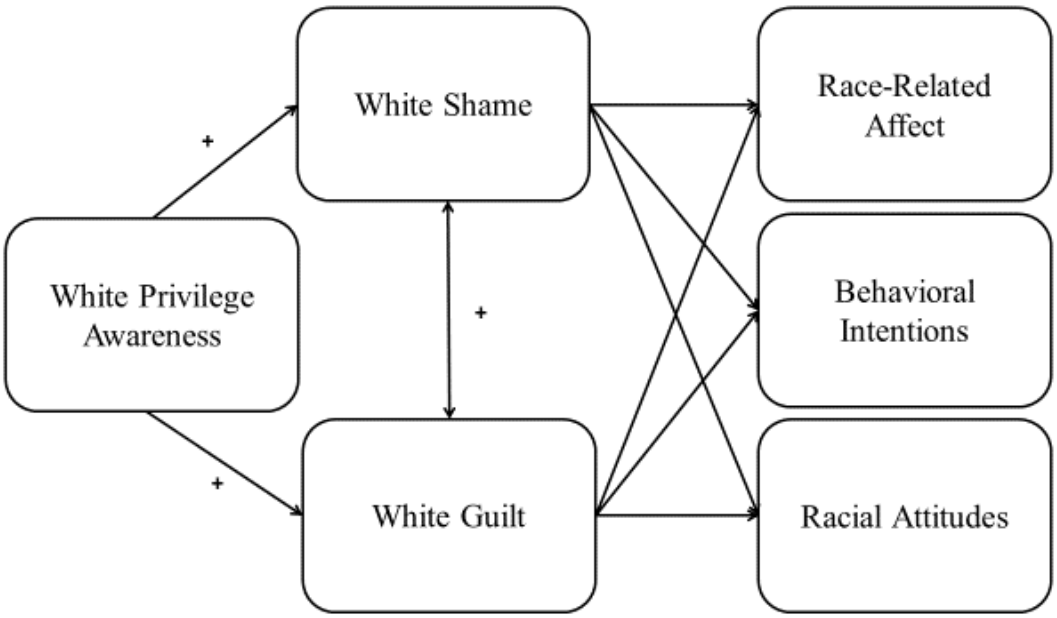

Figure 2. Conceptual model of study hypotheses for Study 2. The direction of hypothesized paths between the predictor and White shame and guilt are given as a "+" or "-" to indicate the direction of association. More specific links between White shame and guilt and study outcomes are given in the text.

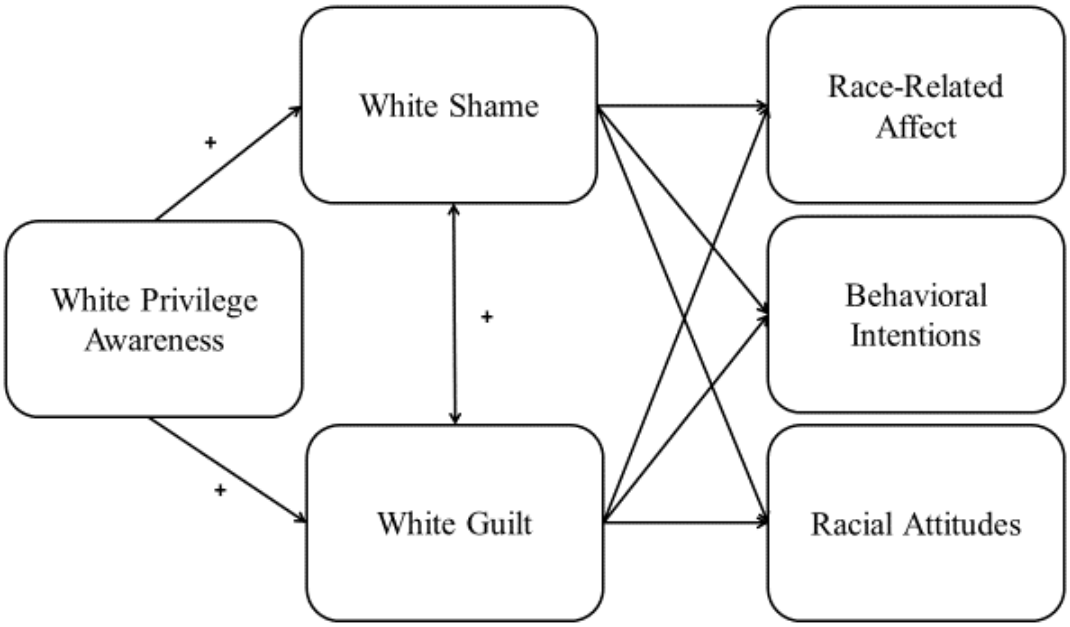

Figure 3. Conceptual model of study hypotheses for Study 3. The direction of hypothesized paths between the predictor and White shame and guilt are given as a "+" or "-" to indicate the direction of association. More specific links between White shame and guilt and study outcomes are given in the text.

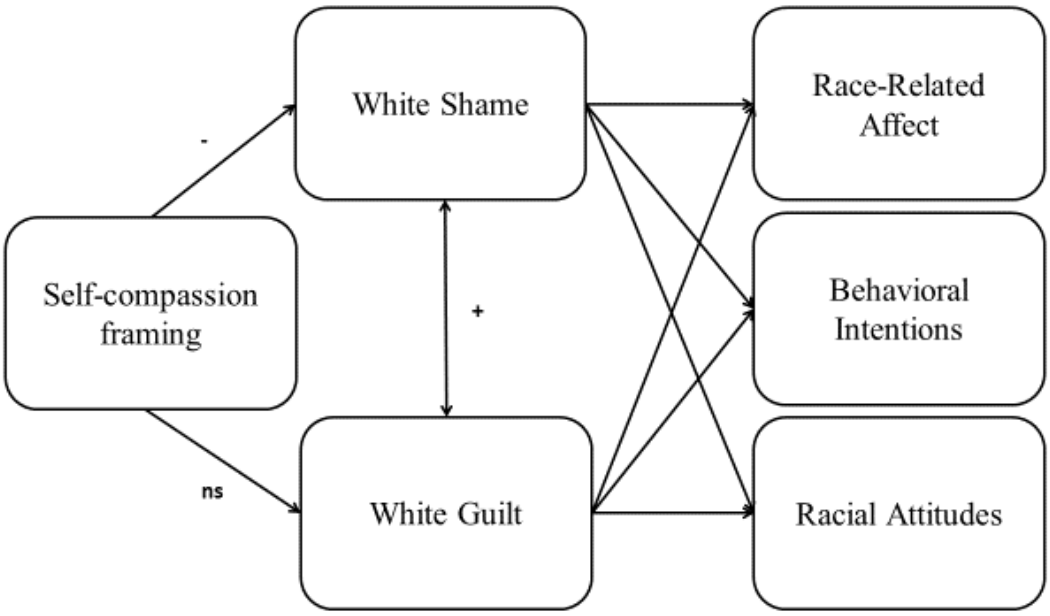

Figure 4. Conceptual model of study hypotheses for Study 4.

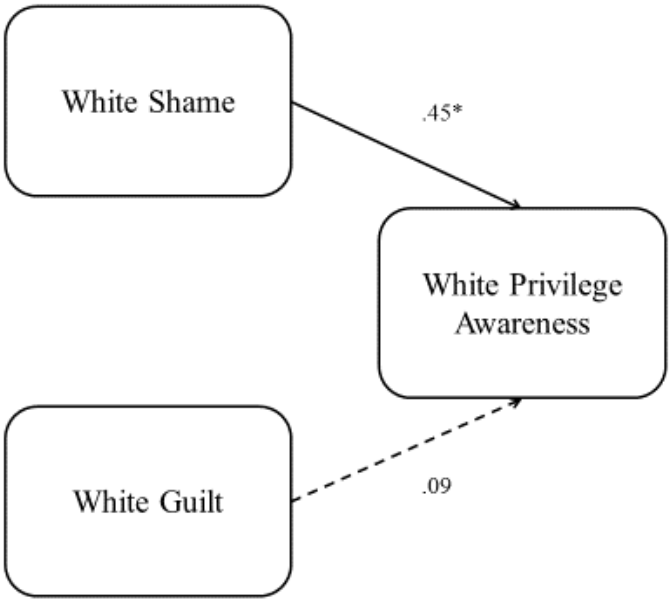

Figure 5. Study 1: Model predicting White privilege awareness.

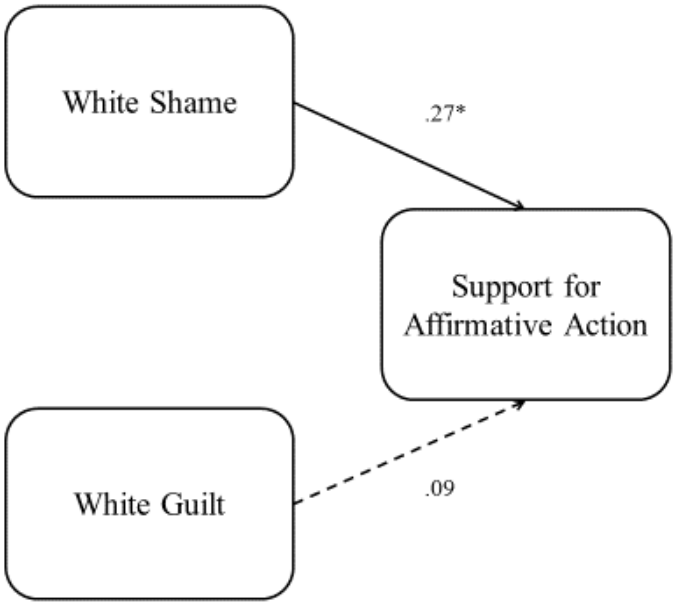

Figure 6. Study 1: Model predicting support for affirmative action.

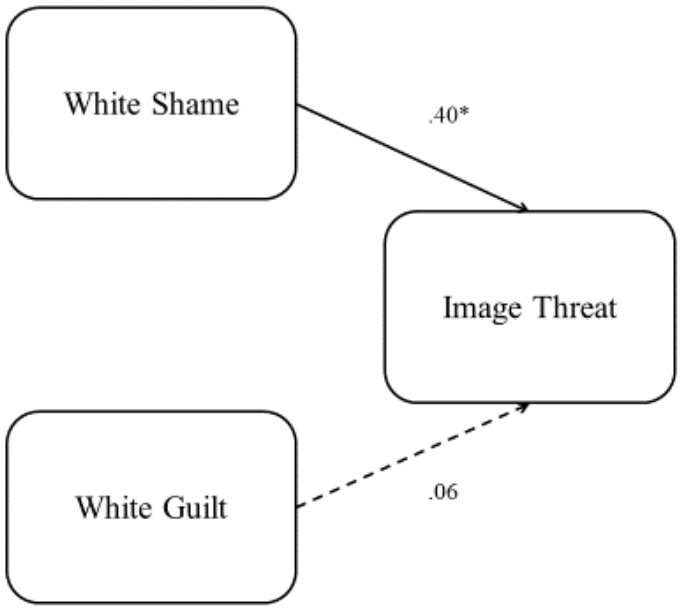

Figure 7. Study 1: Model predicting image threat.

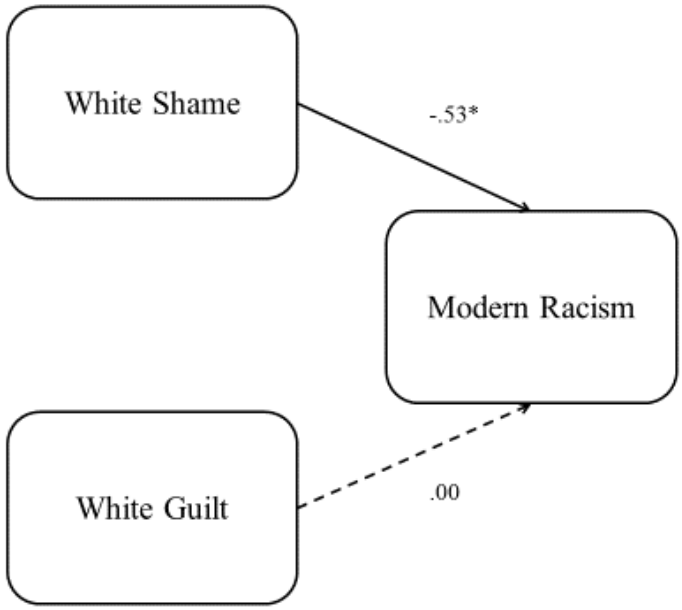

Figure 8. Study 1: Model predicting modern racism.

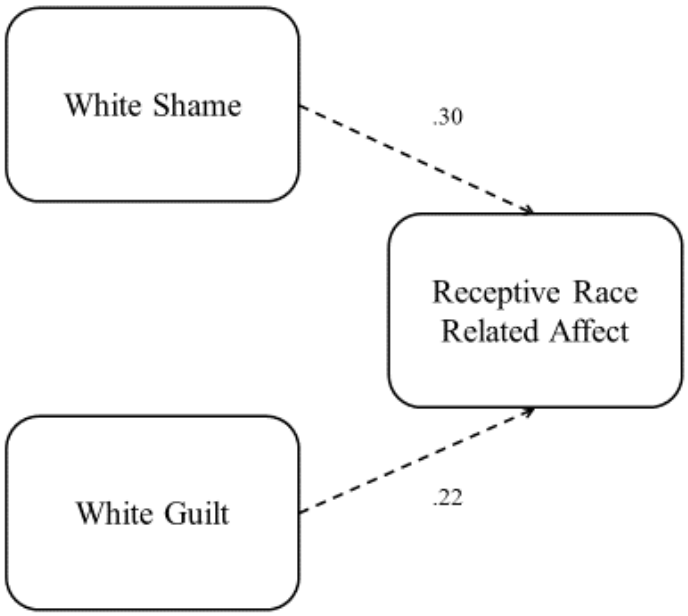

Figure 9. Study 1: Model predicting receptive race related affect.

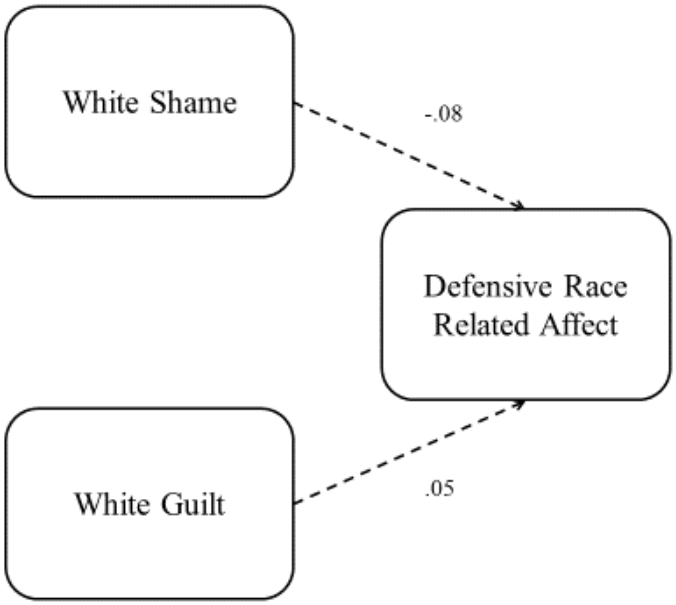

Figure 10. Study 1: Model predicting defensive race related affect.

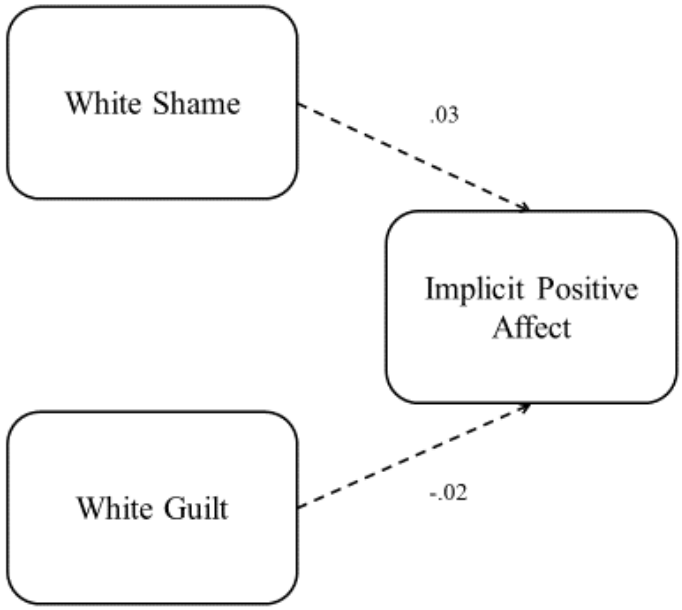

Figure 11. Study 1: Model predicting implicit positive affect.

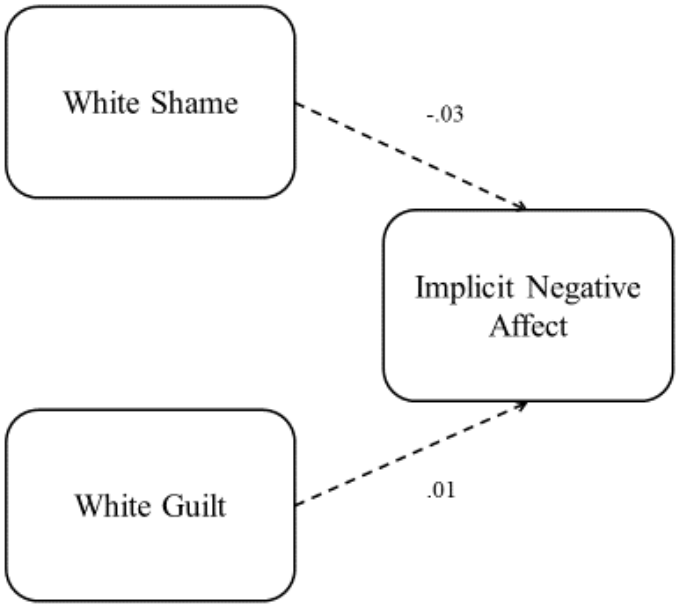

Figure 12. Study 1: Model predicting implicit negative affect.

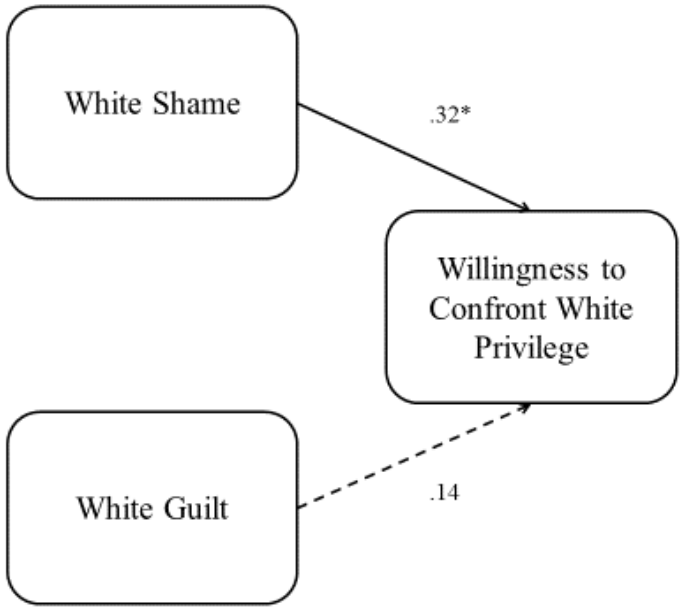

Figure 13. Study 1: Model predicting willingness to confront White privilege.

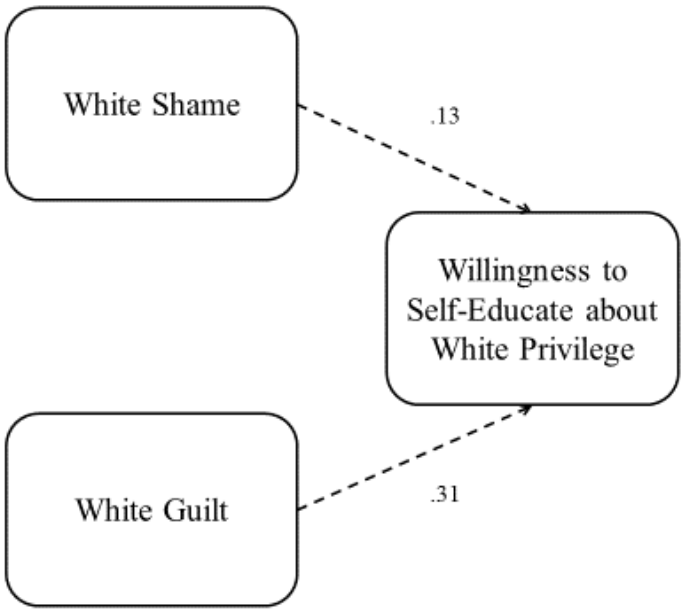

Figure 14. Study 1: Model predicting willingness to self-educate about White privilege.

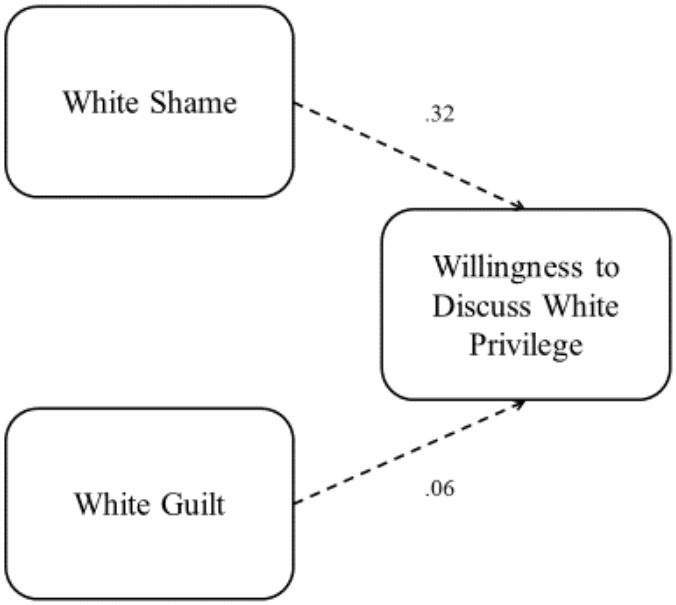

Figure 15. Study 1: Model predicting willingness to discuss White privilege.

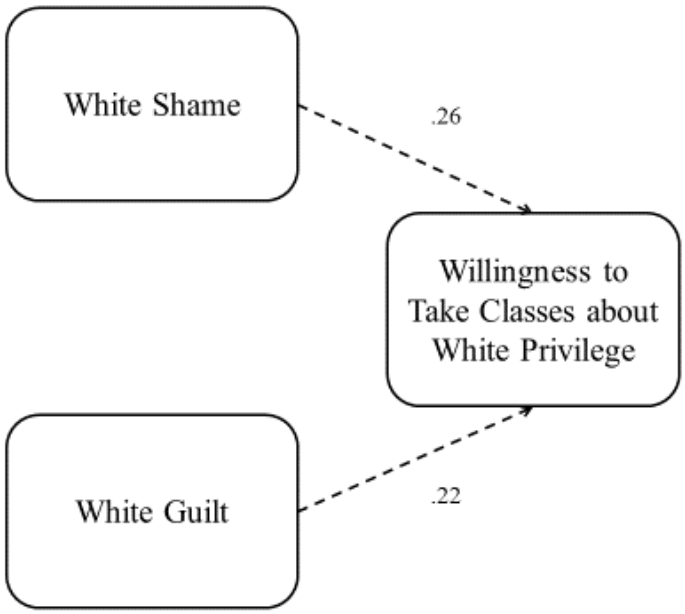

Figure 16. Study 1: Model predicting willingness to take classes about White privilege.

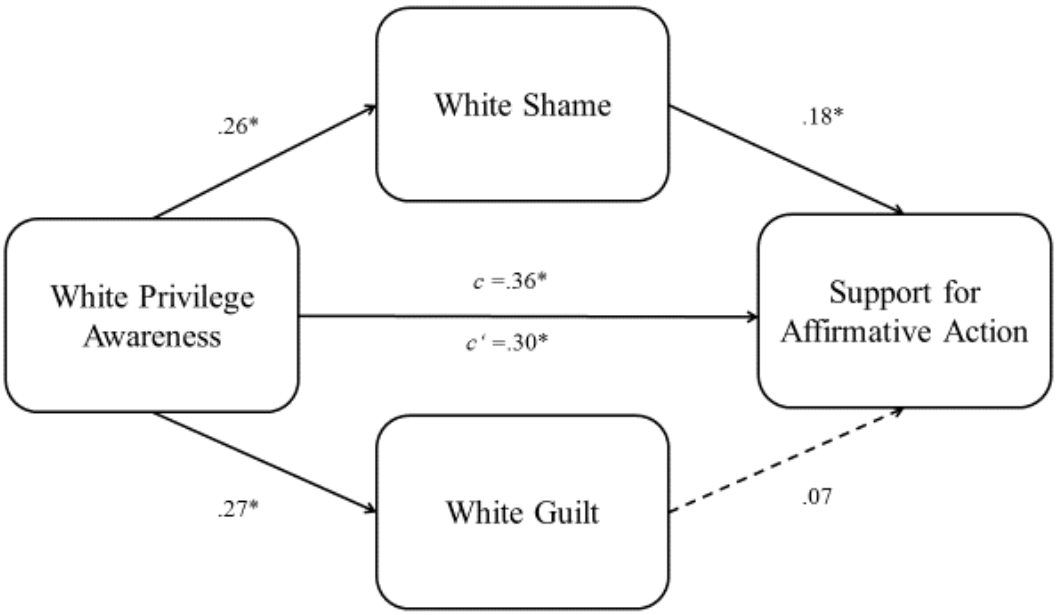

Figure 17. Study 2: Double mediation model predicting support for affirmative action.

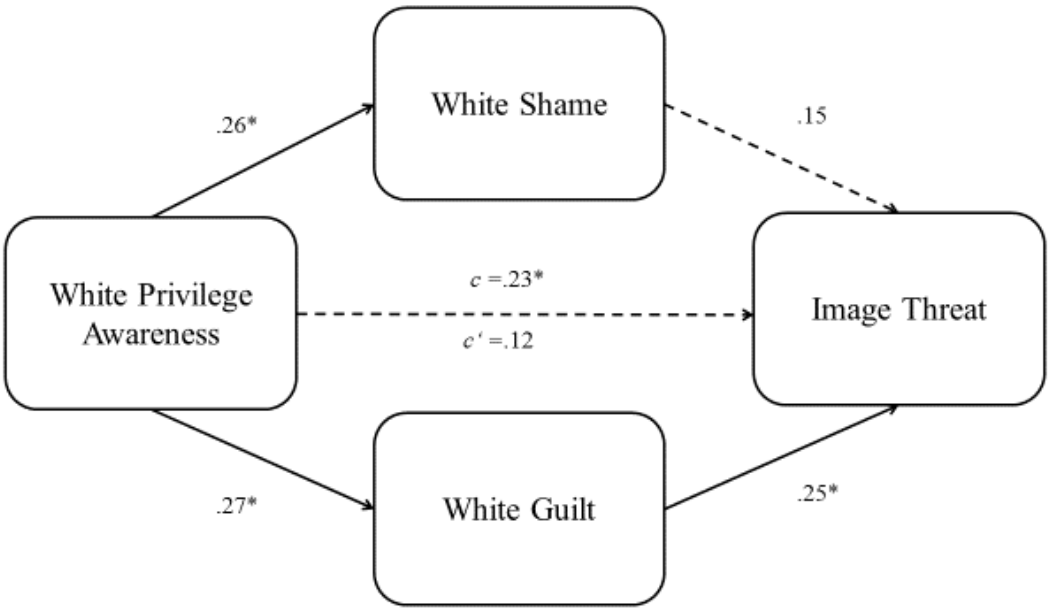

Figure 18. Study 2: Double mediation model predicting image threat.

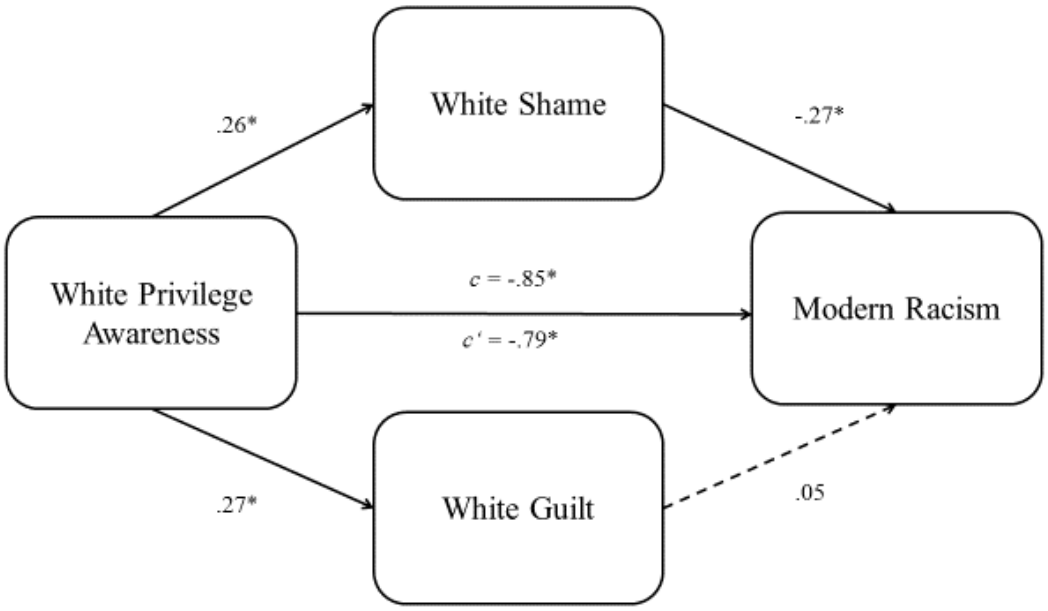

Figure 19. Study 2: Double mediation model predicting modern racism.

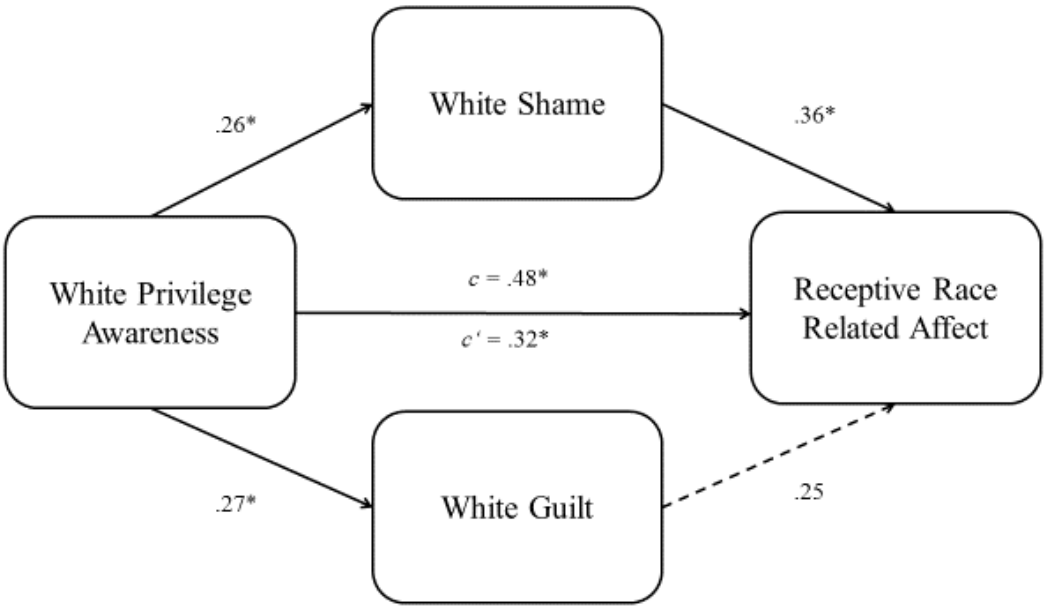

Figure 20. Study 2: Double mediation model predicting receptive race related affect.

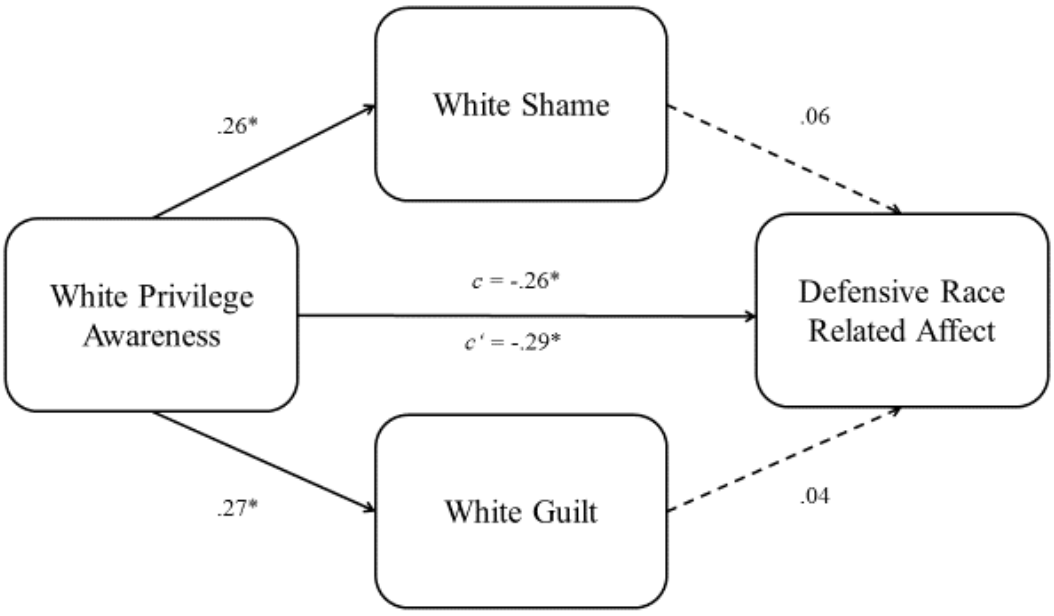

Figure 21. Study 2: Double mediation model predicting defensive race related affect.

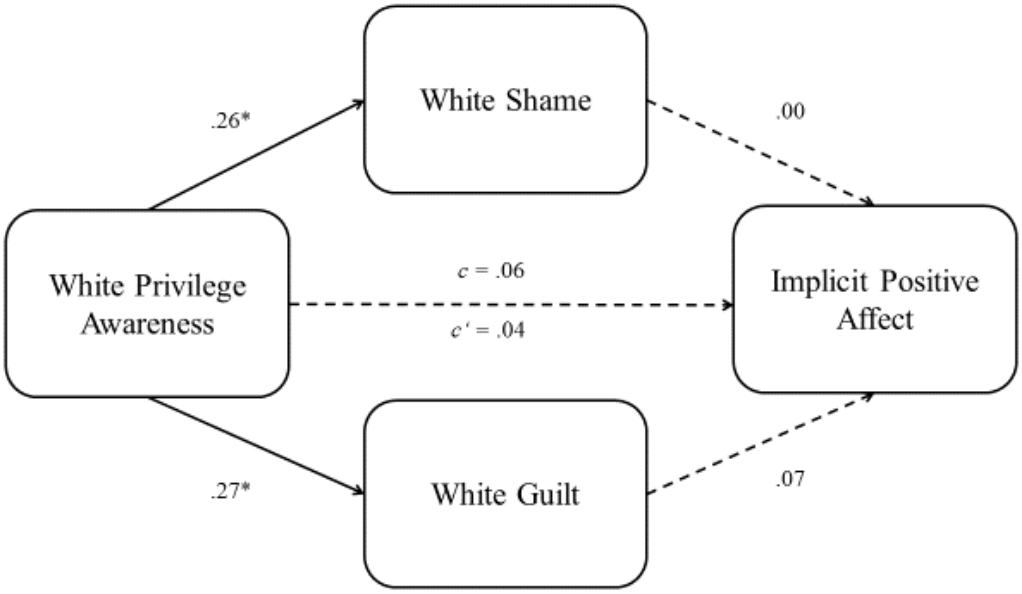

Figure 22. Study 2: Double mediation model predicting implicit positive affect.

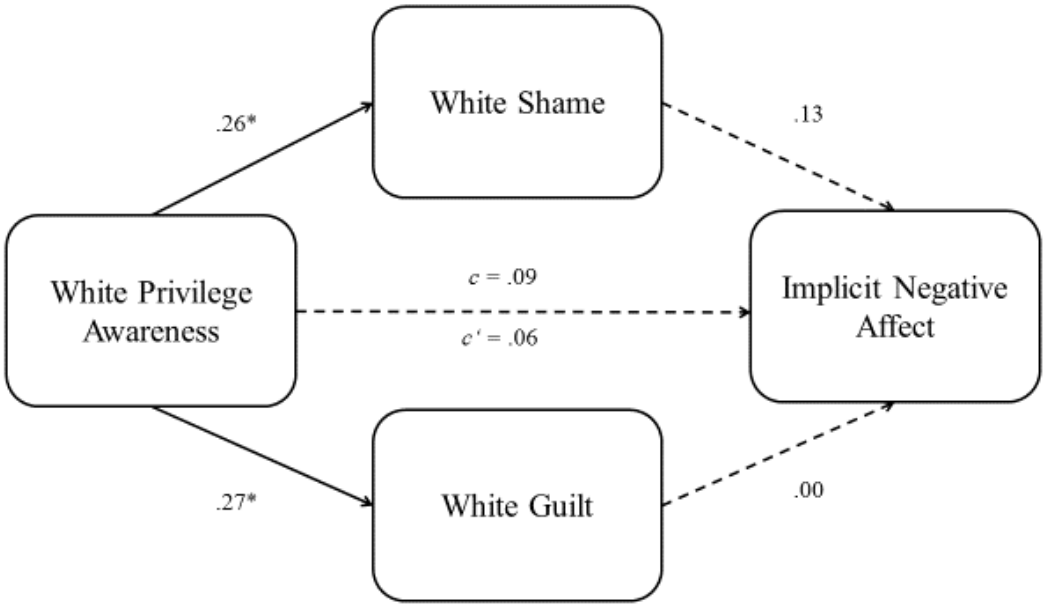

Figure 22. Study 2: Double mediation model predicting implicit negative affect.

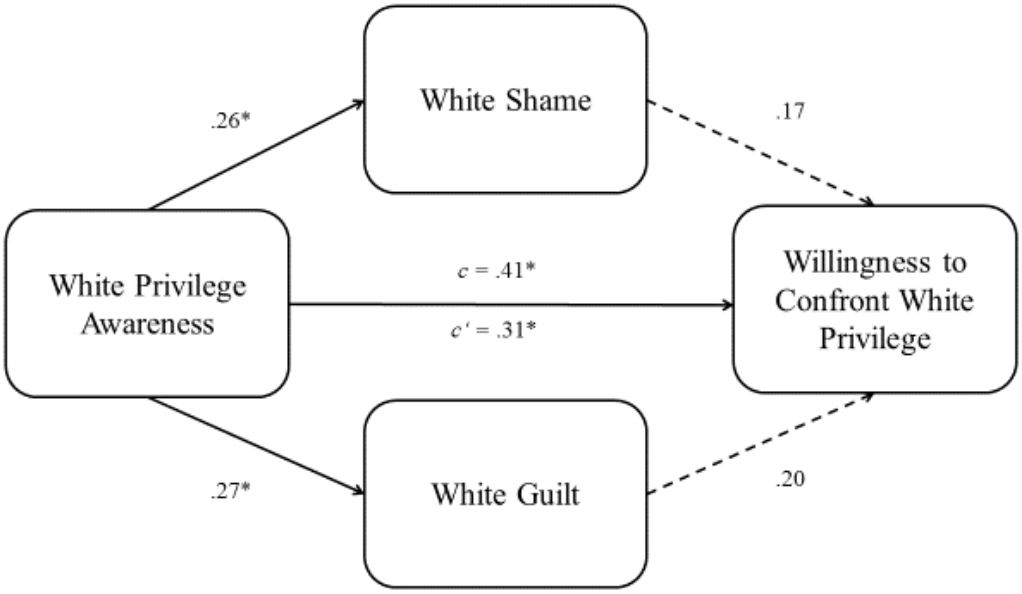

Figure 24. Study 2: Double mediation model predicting willingness to confront White privilege.

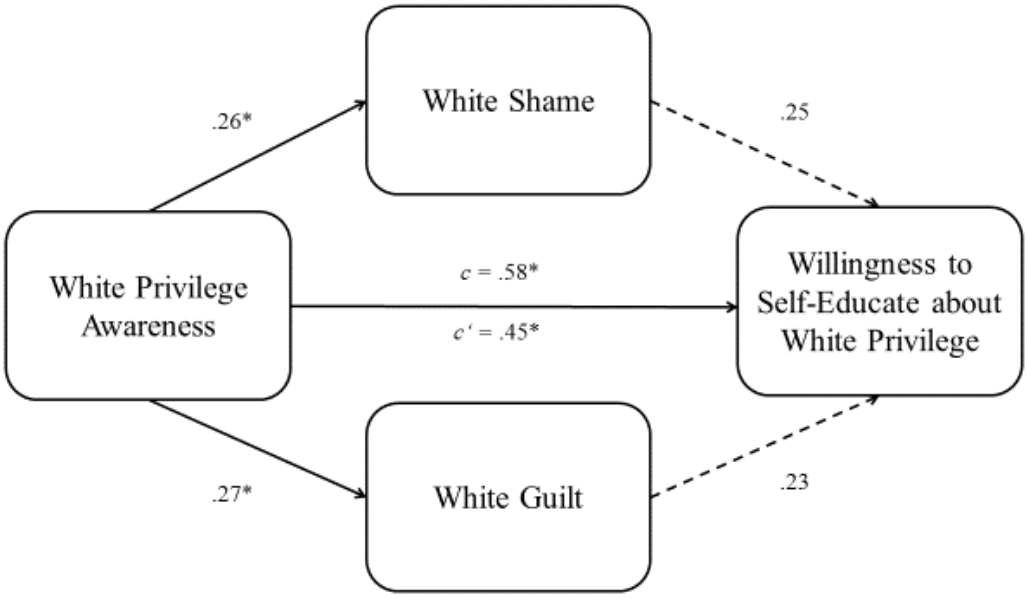

Figure 25. Study 2: Double mediation model predicting willingness to self-educate about White privilege.

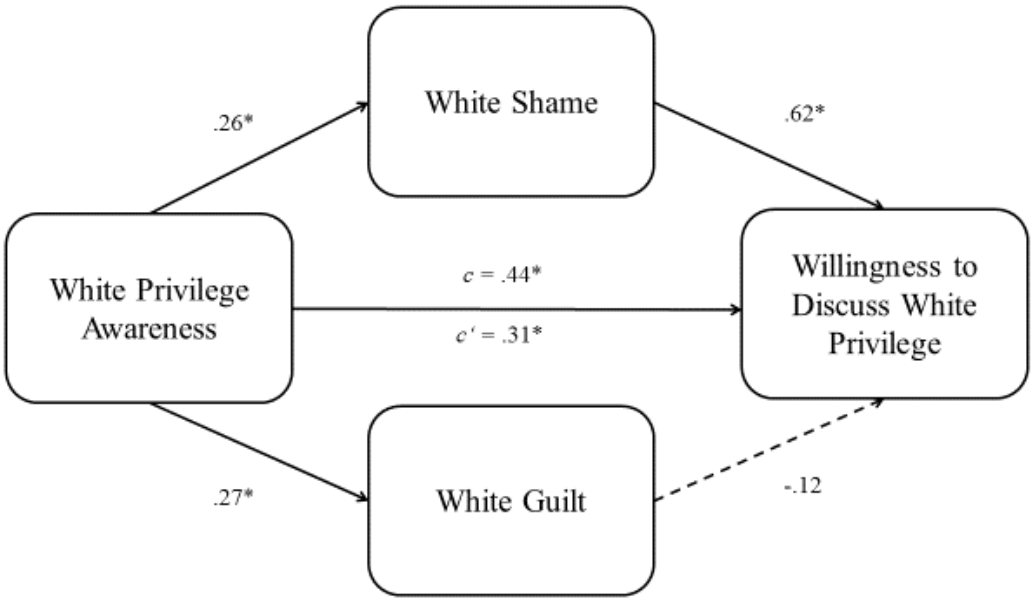

Figure 26. Study 2: Double mediation model predicting willingness to discuss White privilege.

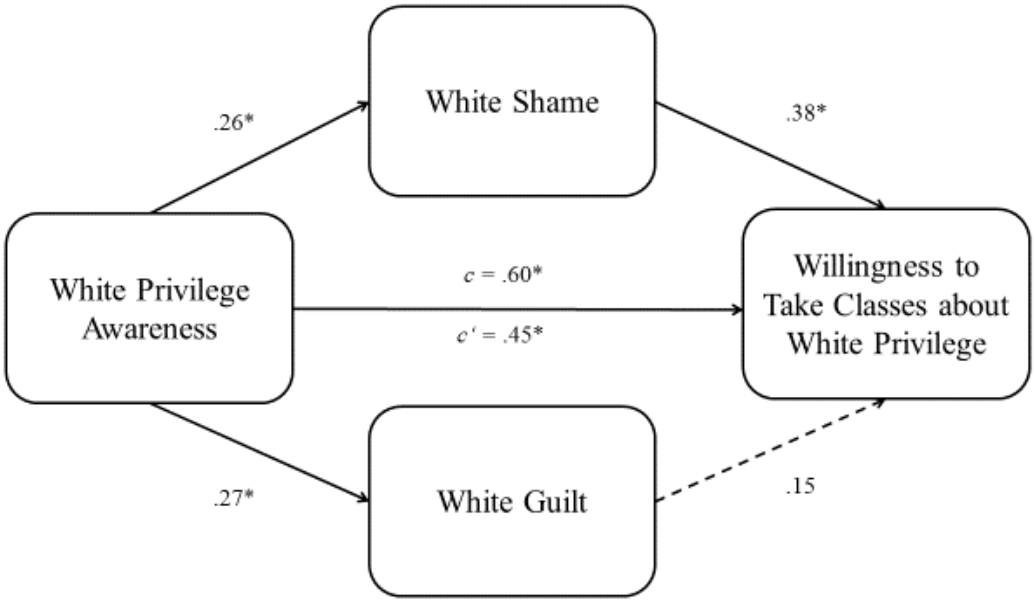

Figure 27. Study 2: Double mediation model predicting willingness to take classes about White privilege.

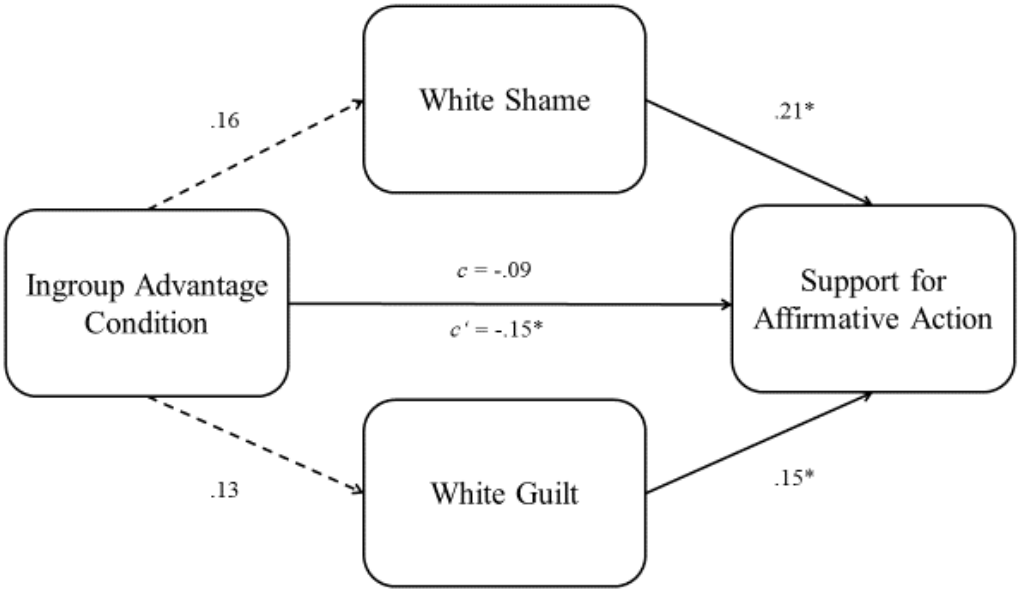

Figure 28. Study 3: Double mediation model predicting support for affirmative action.

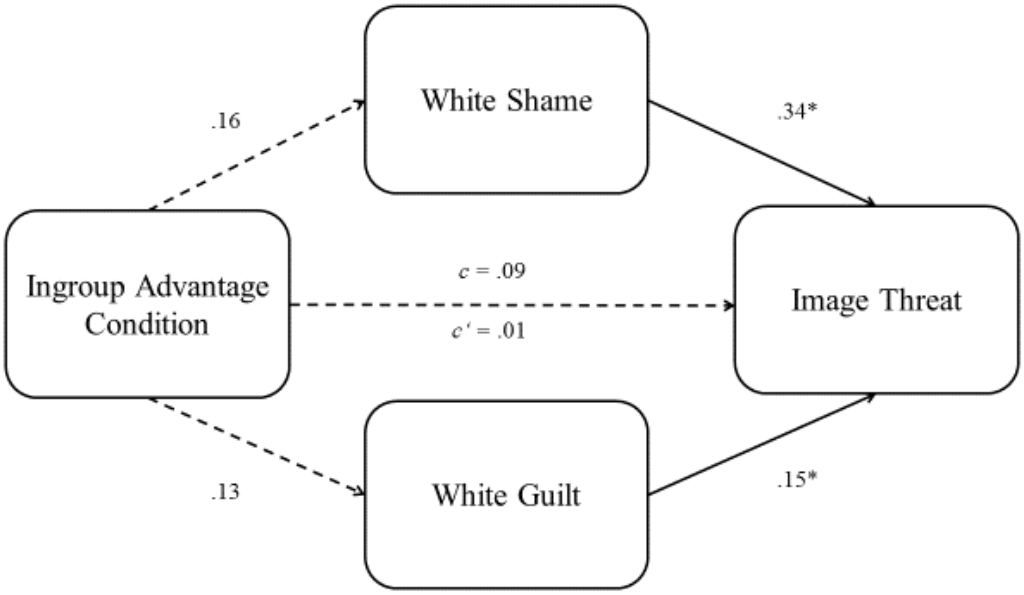

Figure 29. Study 3: Double mediation model predicting image threat.

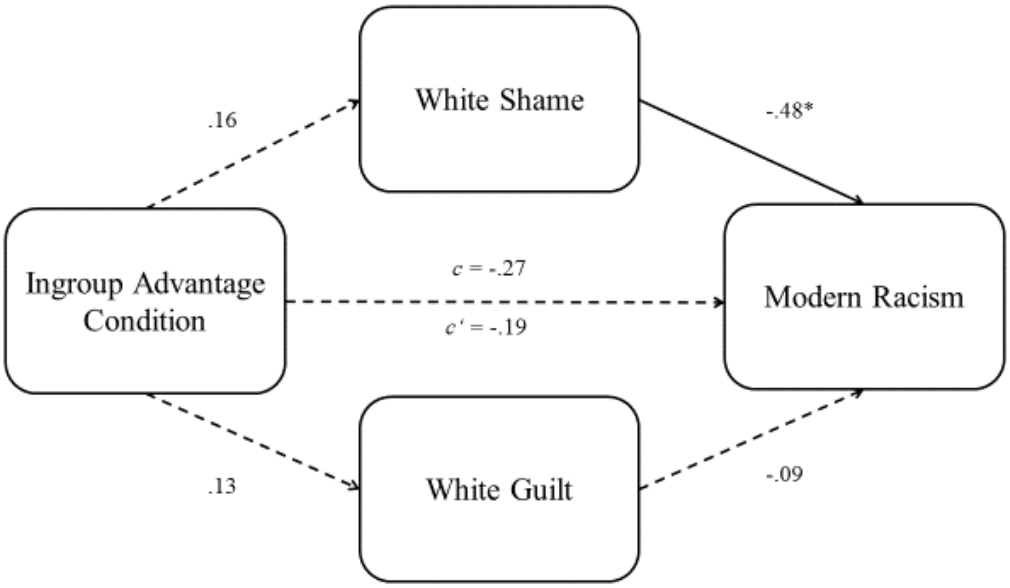

Figure 30. Study 3: Double mediation model predicting modern racism.

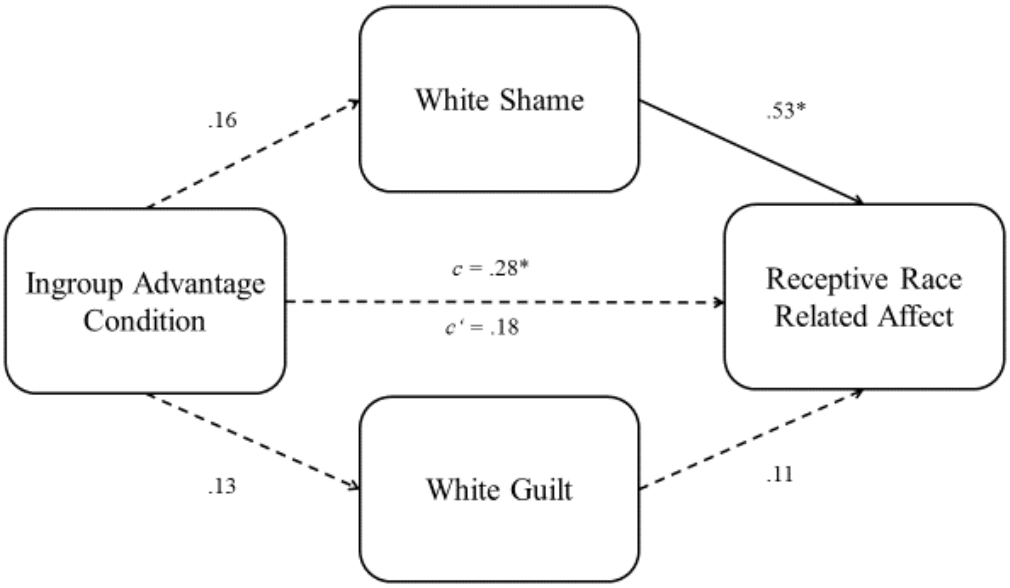

Figure 31. Study 3: Double mediation model predicting receptive race related affect.

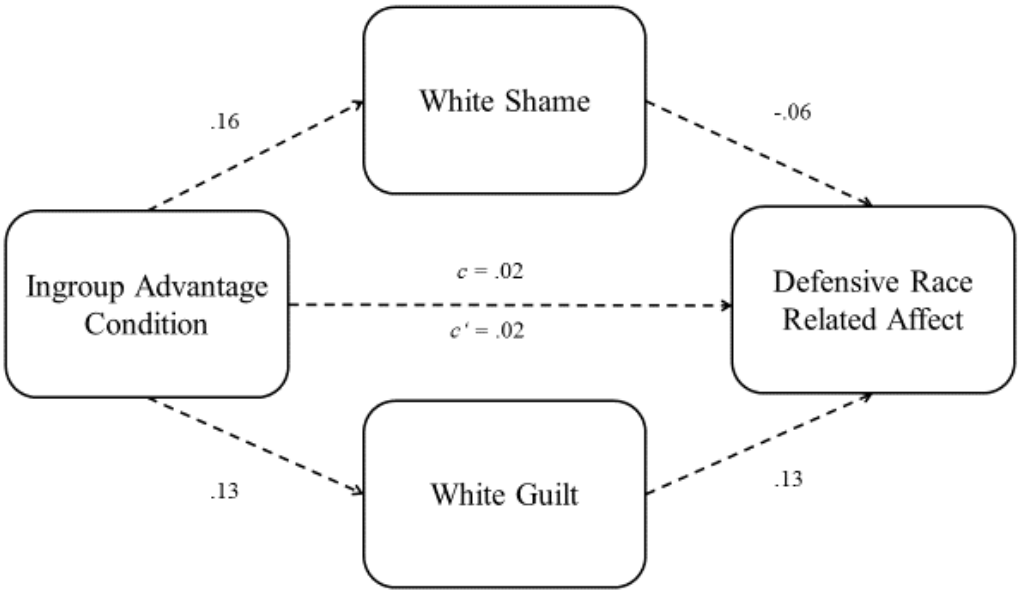

Figure 32. Study 3: Double mediation model predicting defensive race related affect.

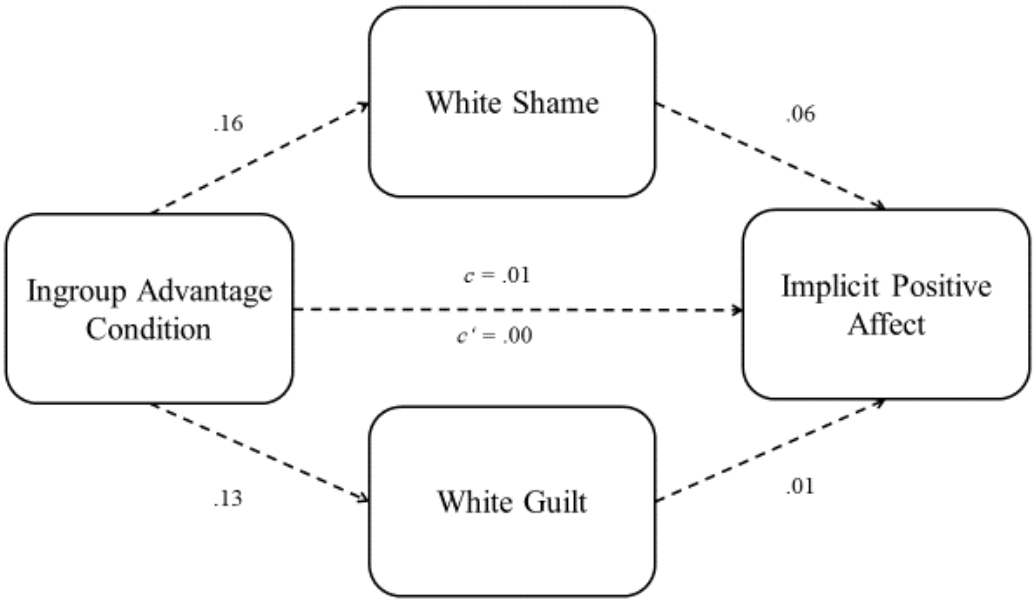

Figure 33. Study 3: Double mediation model predicting implicit positive affect.

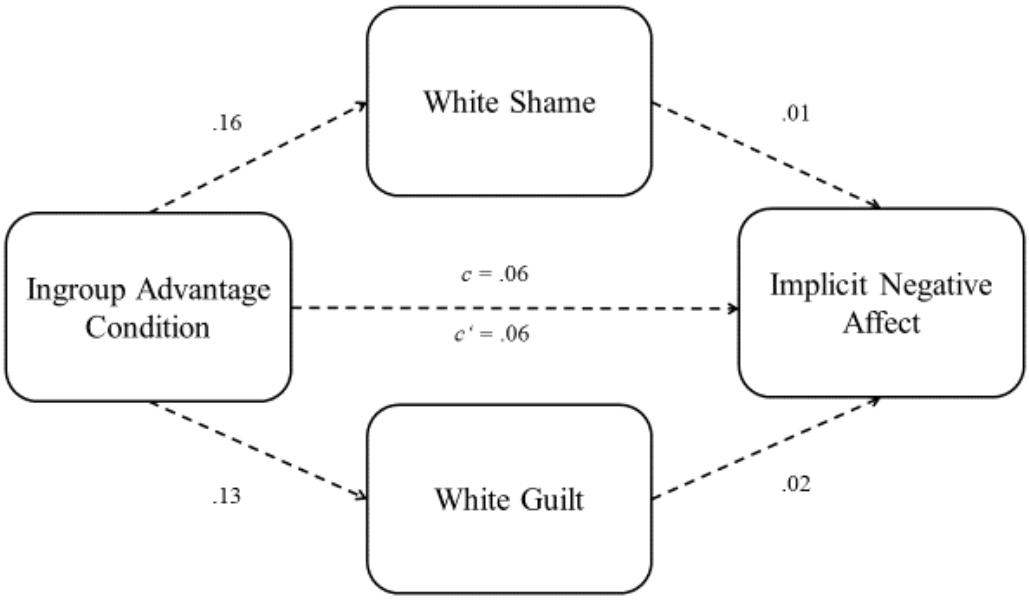

Figure 34. Study 3: Double mediation model predicting implicit negative affect.

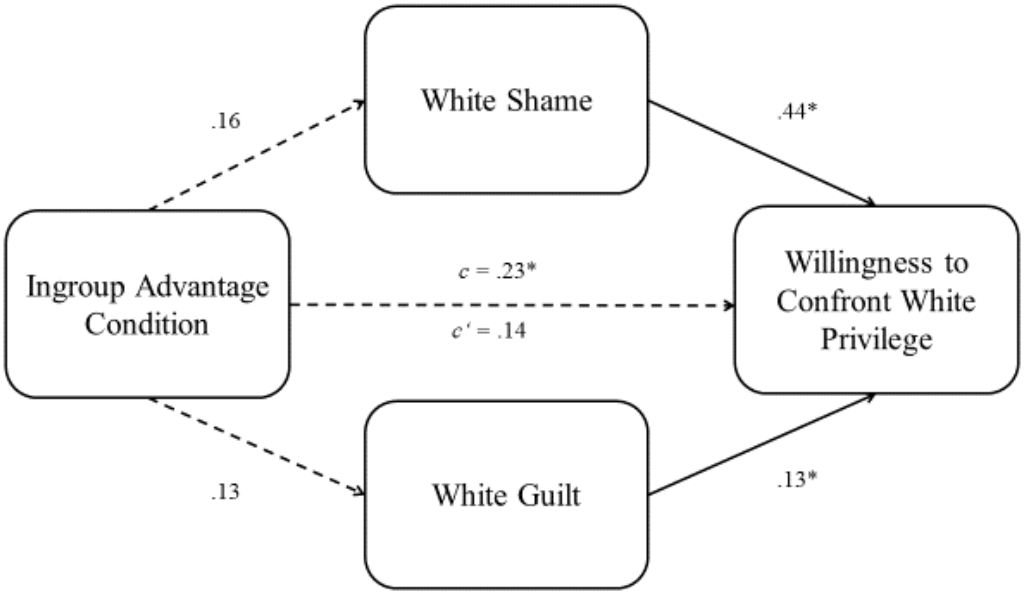

Figure 35. Study 3: Double mediation model predicting willingness to confront White privilege.

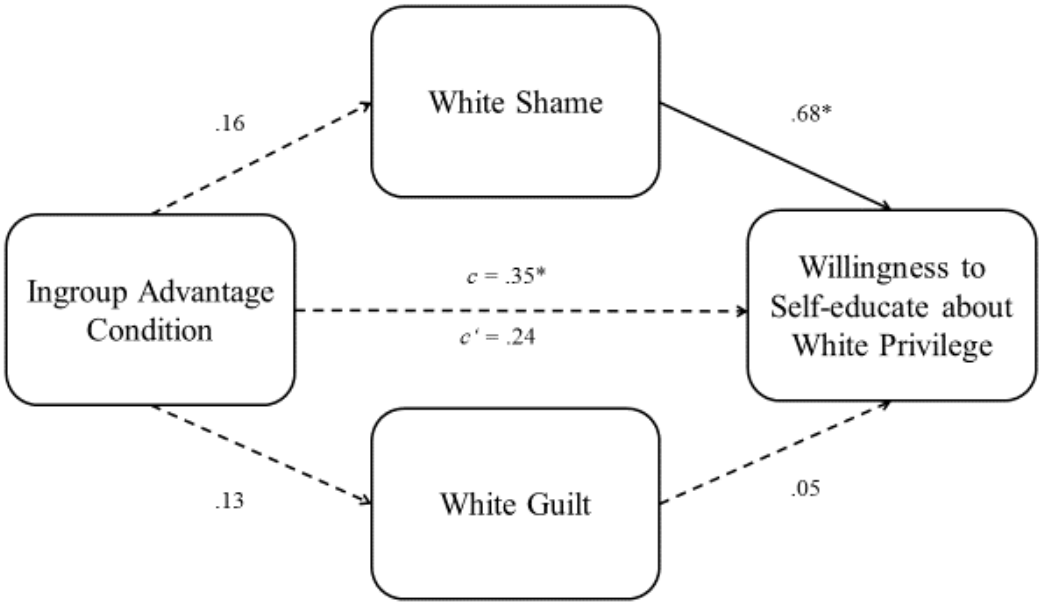

Figure 36. Study 3: Double mediation model predicting willingness to self-educate about White privilege.

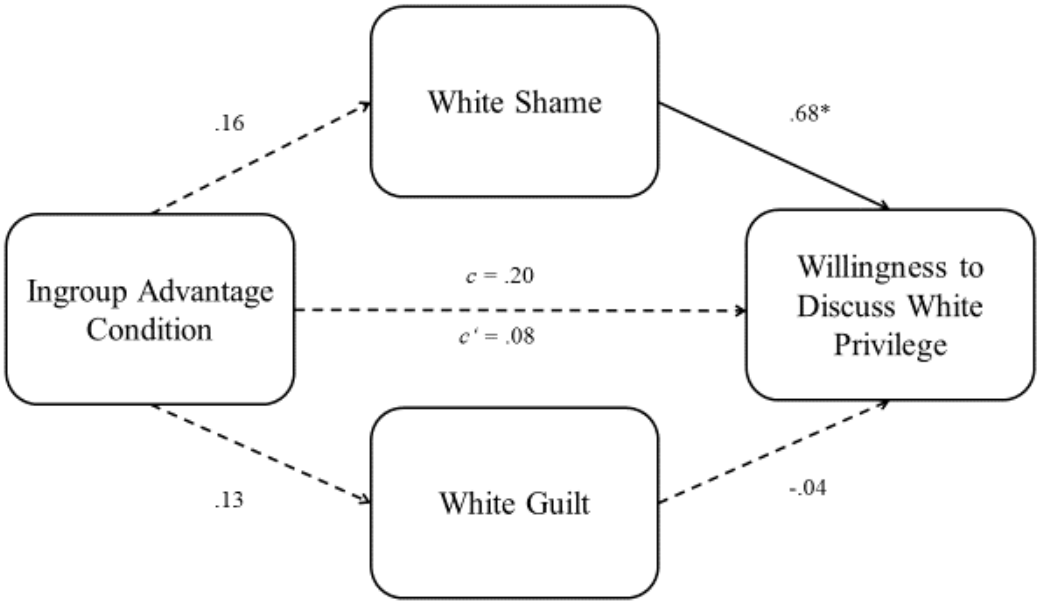

Figure 37. Study 3: Double mediation model predicting willingness to discuss White privilege.

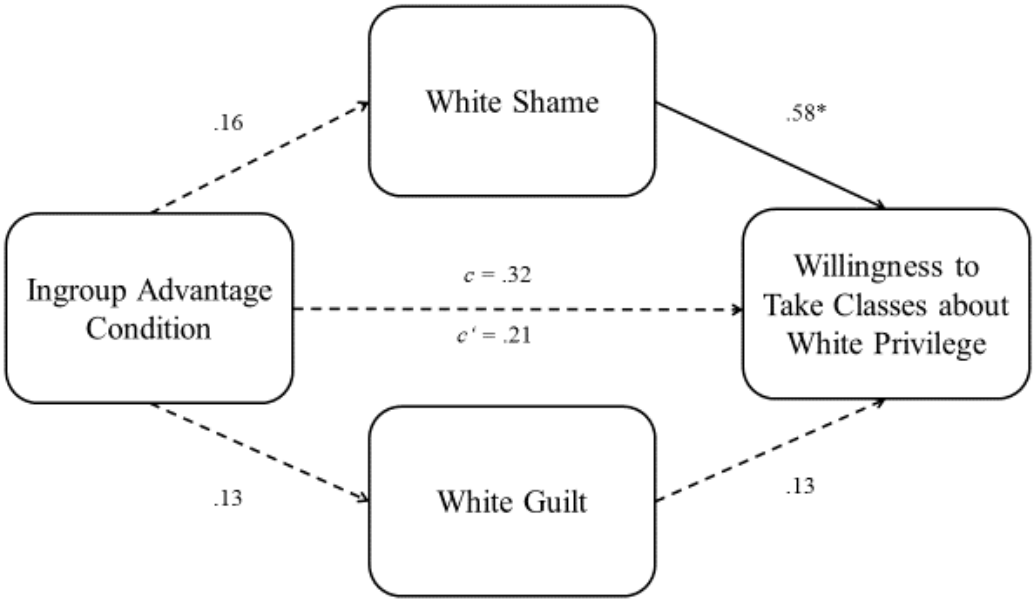

Figure 38. Study 3: Double mediation model predicting willingness to take classes about White privilege.

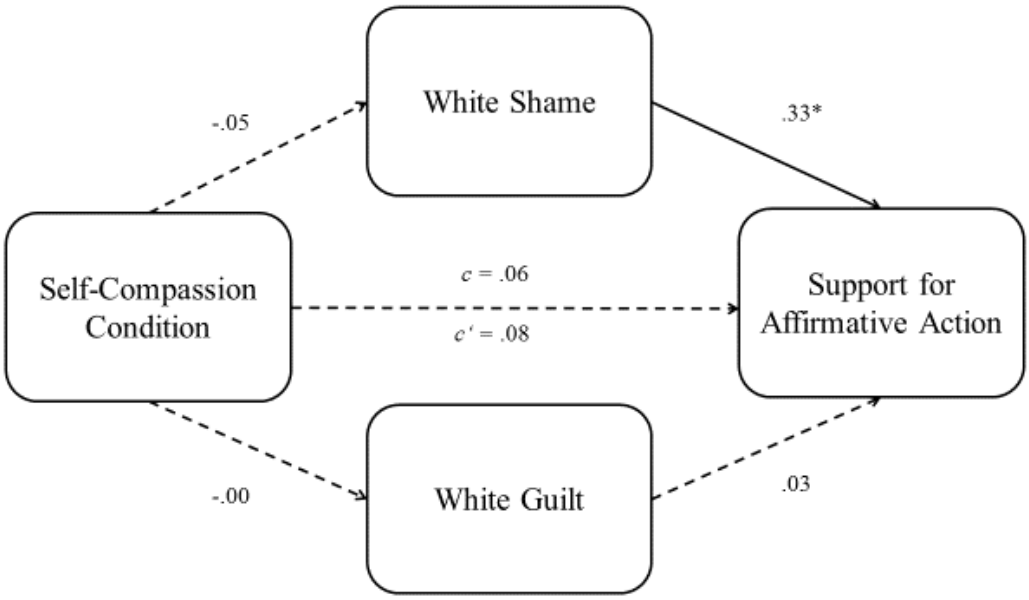

Figure 39. Study 4: Double mediation model predicting support for affirmative action.

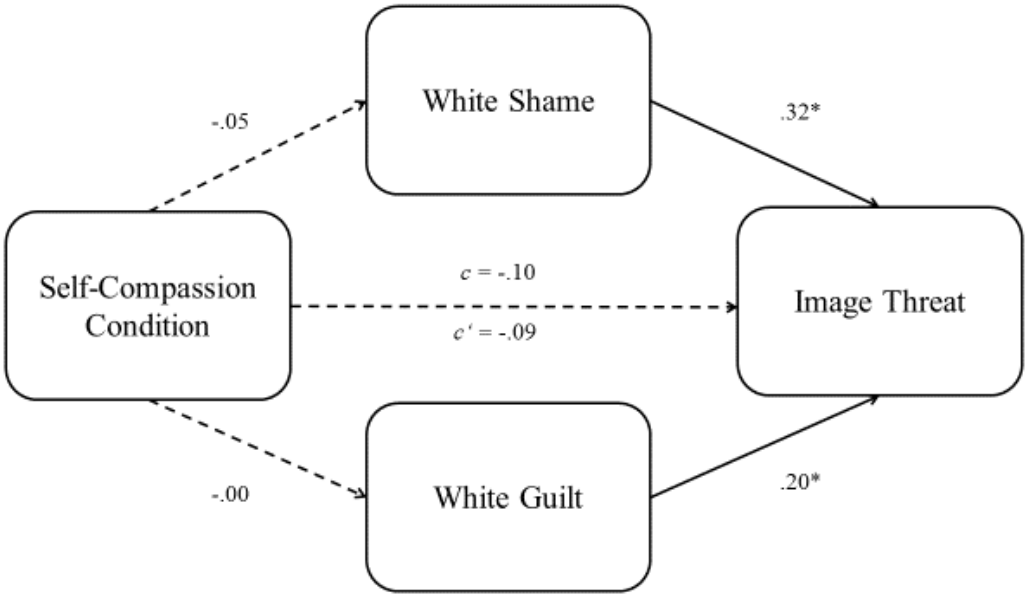

Figure 40. Study 4: Double mediation model predicting image threat.

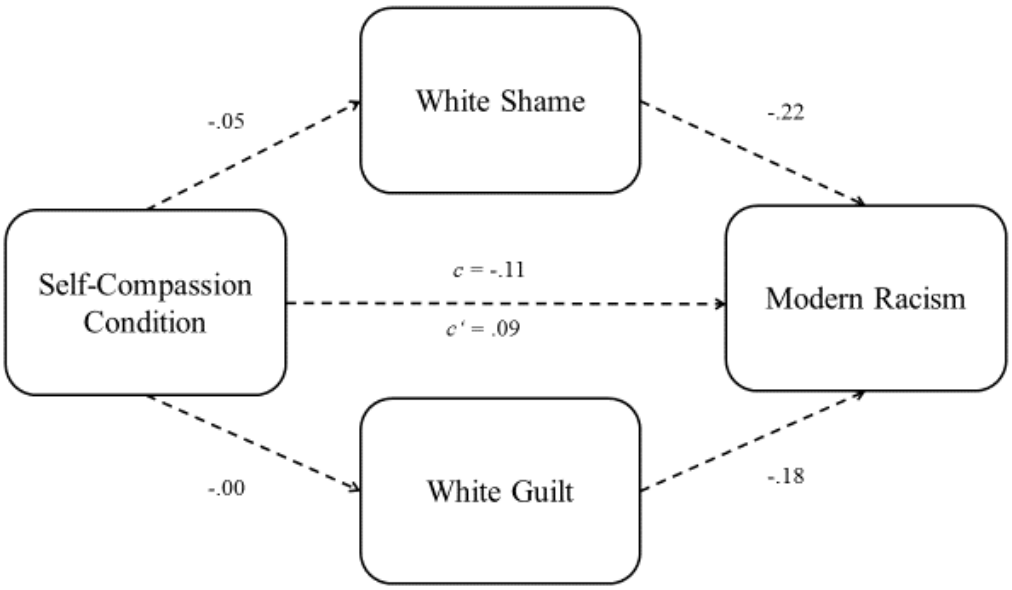

Figure 41. Study 4: Double mediation model predicting modern racism.

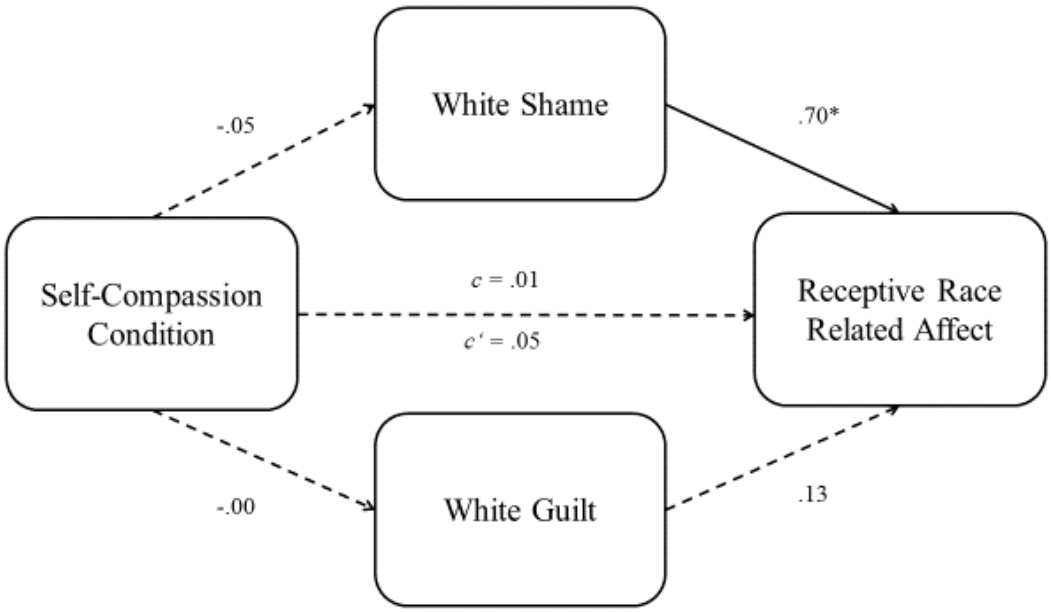

Figure 42. Study 4: Double mediation model predicting receptive race related affect.

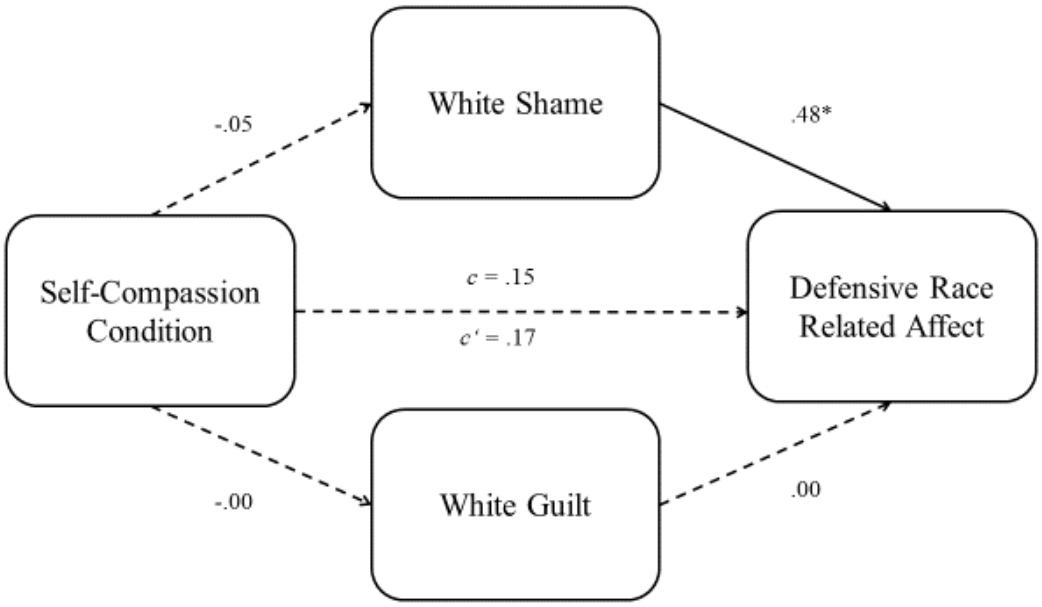

Figure 43. Study 4: Double mediation model predicting defensive race related affect.

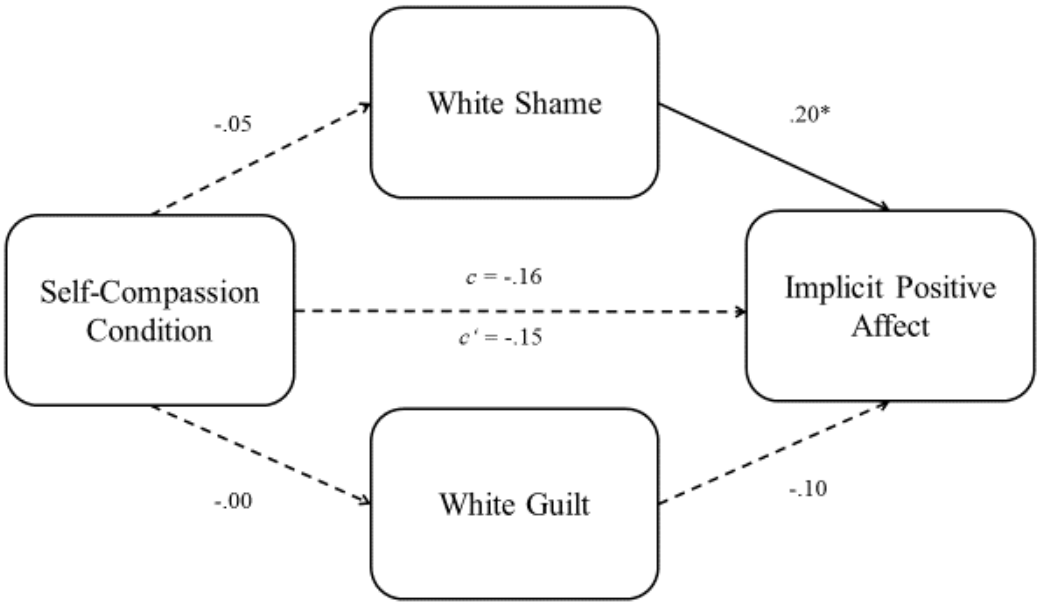

Figure 44. Study 4: Double mediation model predicting implicit positive affect.

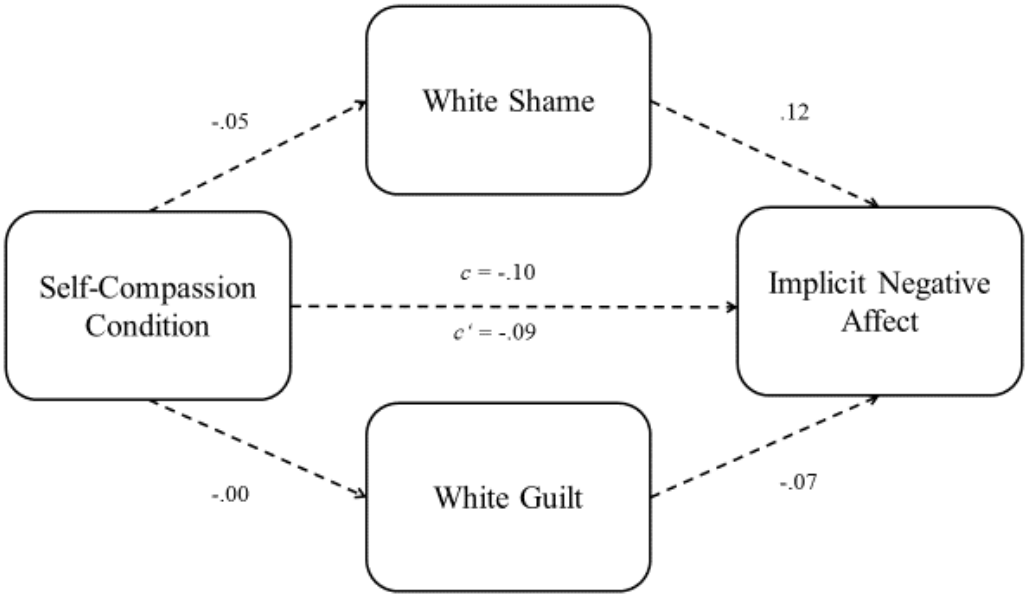

Figure 45. Study 4: Double mediation model predicting implicit negative affect.

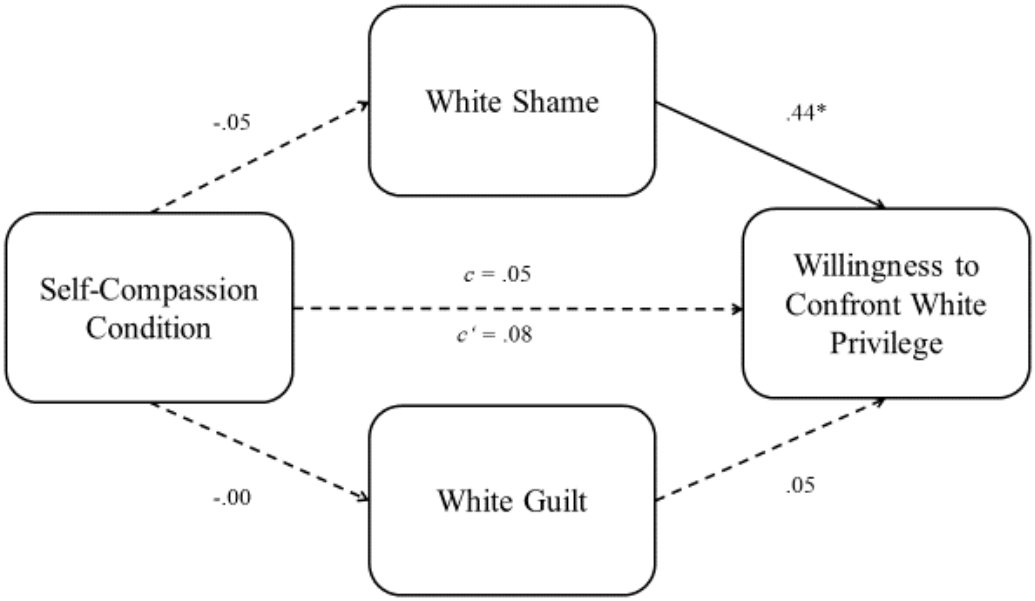

Figure 46. Study 4: Double mediation model predicting willingness to confront White privilege.

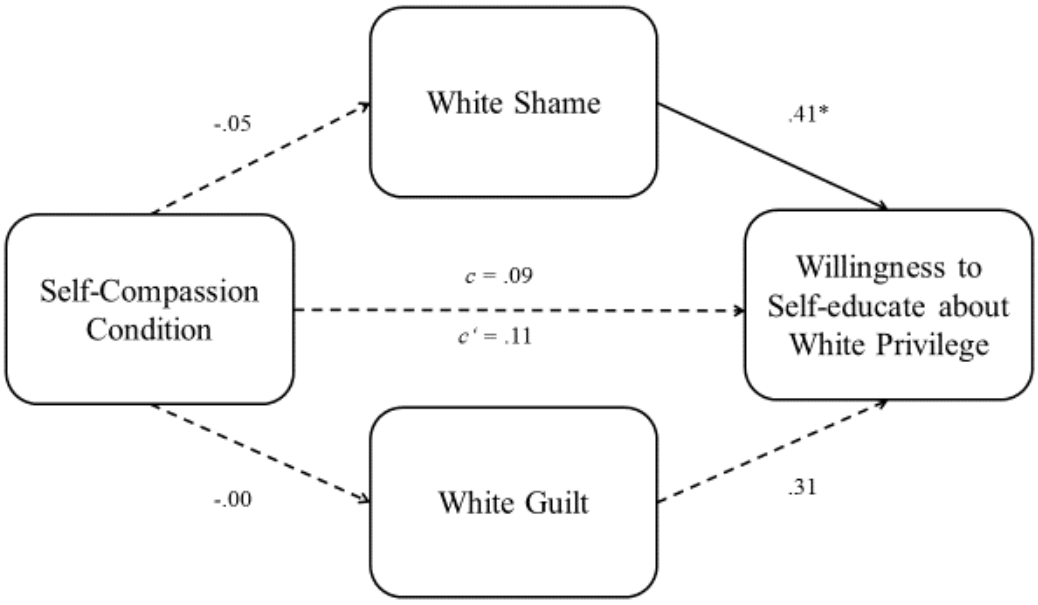

Figure 47. Study 4: Double mediation model predicting willingness to self-educate about White privilege.

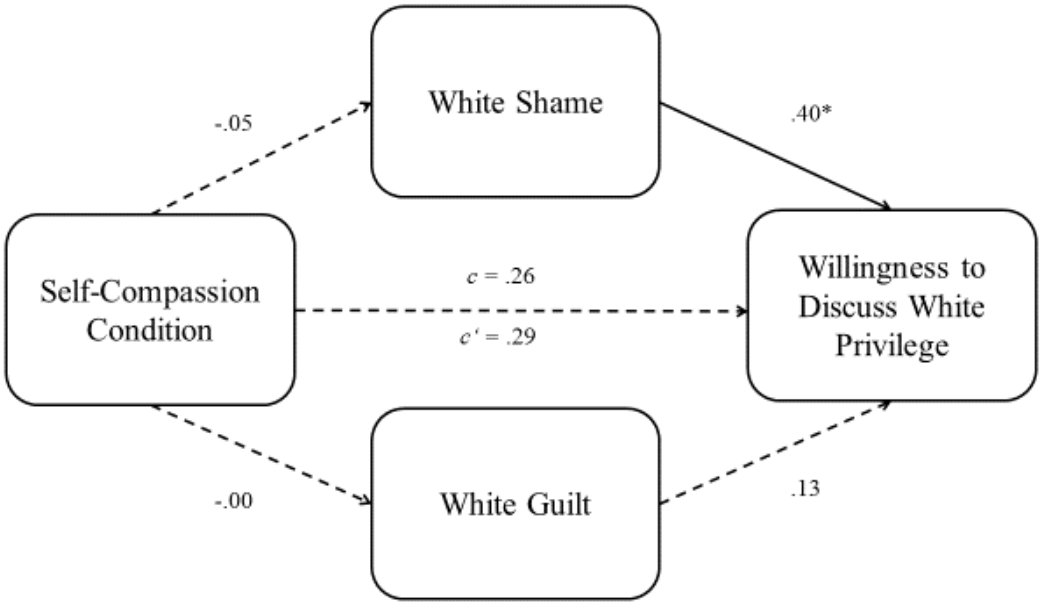

Figure 48. Study 4: Double mediation model predicting willingness to discuss White privilege.

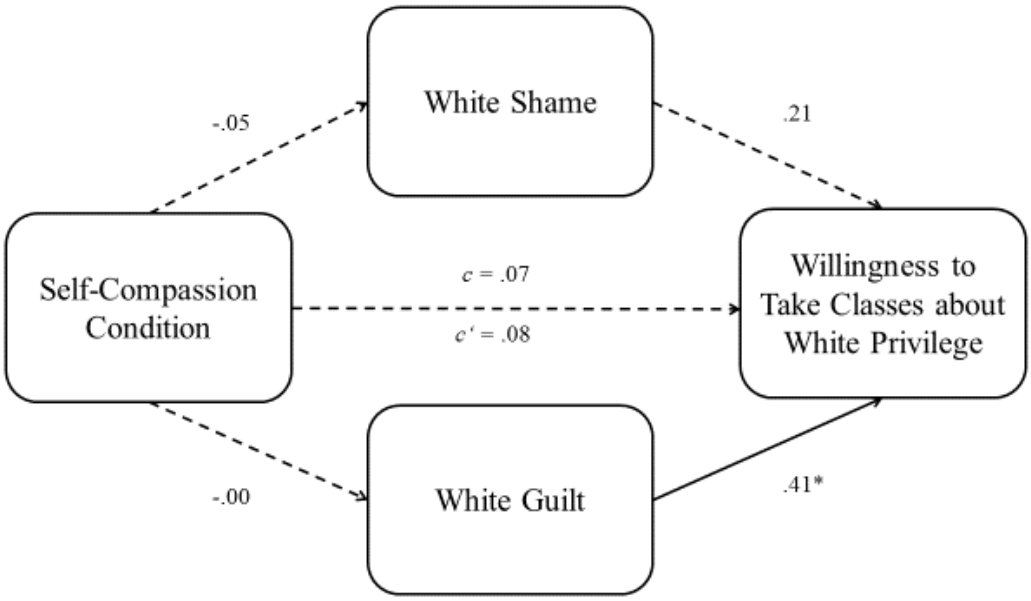

Figure 49. Study 4: Double mediation model predicting willingness to take classes about White privilege.

Appendix of Survey Materials, Scales, Subscales, and Items

Table of Contents

Summary of Scales for Each Study

Study 1: Baseline Condition

- Measures will be presented in the following order:
  - Demographics
  - Ingroup Identification Scale
  - White Shame
  - White Guilt
  - Behavioral Intentions
  - Racial Attitudes
  - Race-Related Affect
  - White Privilege Awareness
  - General Free Response Question 1

Study 2: White Privilege Awareness, White Guilt and Shame, and Racial Justice

- Measures will be presented in the following order:
  - Demographics
  - Ingroup Identification Scale
  - White Privilege Awareness
  - White Shame
  - White Guilt
  - Behavioral Intentions
  - Racial Attitudes
  - Race-Related Affect
  - General Free Response Question 1

Study 3: Ingroup Advantage/Outgroup Disadvantage Framing

- Measures will be presented in the following order:
  - Demographics
  - Ingroup Identification Scale
  - Ingroup Advantage/Outgroup Disadvantage Manipulation
  - White Shame
  - White Guilt
  - Behavioral Intentions
  - Racial Attitudes
  - Race-Related Affect
  - White Privilege Awareness (Manipulation check)
  - General Free Response Question 1

Study 4: Self-Compassion

- Initial Measures:
  - Demographics
  - Ingroup Identification Scale
  - White Privilege Awareness
- Self-compassion or Time-filler Framing

- White privilege script
- Video clip screening
- Self-compassion or Time-filler Framing
- Final Measures:
    - White Shame
    - White Guilt
    - Behavioral Intentions
    - Racial Attitudes
    - Race-Related Affect
    - Self-compassion Scale (Manipulation check)
    - General Free Response Questions 1 & 2

Study 3: Ingroup Advantage Framing

(Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005)

Directions: In the last half of this century, Americans have given considerable attention to matters of racial inequality. Despite increased attention to the issue, most social scientists agree that, even today, White Americans enjoy many privileges that Black Americans do not. Below is a list of White Privileges compiled from sociological, psychological, and economic research.

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 7. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 7 (*completely agree*)

1. When told of America's national heritage, White Americans are shown that their racial group made it what it is.
2. White Americans can participate in most organizations without feeling isolated, out of place, outnumbered, or feared.
3. The national media encourage White Americans to feel proud of their race.
4. Whites are seen as the most prestigious race in American Culture.
5. If they wish, White Americans can arrange to be in the company of other White Americans most of the time.
6. White Americans can turn on the television or open a newspaper and see people of their race being positively represented.
7. White Americans can easily buy a variety of consumer products that feature people of their own race.
8. White Americans can easily find academic institutions that give attention almost exclusively to people of their race.
9. White Americans can easily rent or purchase housing in any area where they can afford to live.
10. White Americans can go shopping alone without worry of being followed or harassed because of their race.
11. White Americans can be confident that if they move to a new neighborhood of their choice, their neighbors will respect their race.
12. If White Americans get pulled over by a police officer, they can be confident they haven't been singled out because of their race.
13. White Americans can consider many different life choices without questioning whether a person of their race would be allowed to do what they want to do.
14. Whether using checks or credit cards, White Americans can count on their skin color not to work against their appearance of financial reliability.

15. White Americans can be confident that if they need legal or medical help, their race will not work against them.
16. White Americans can count on their race being a positive factor in employment interviews and job appraisals.
17. White Americans can receive positive treatment because of their race without ever considering that their race might be the reason for it.
18. When something bad happens to a White American, they generally need not question whether their race had anything to do with it.
19. White Americans don't have to think about their race if they don't want to.
20. In most situations, White Americans have the option to think about themselves as "just a person" rather than as a member of their race.
21. White Americans can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to their race.
22. White Americans are not asked to speak for all persons of their race.
23. White Americans can be concerned about racism without being seen as self-interested.
24. White Americans can accept a job with an affirmative action employer without having their co-workers suspect they got the job because of their race.

Study 3: Outgroup Disadvantage Framing

(Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005)

Directions: In the last half of this century, Americans have given considerable attention to matters of racial inequality. Despite increased attention to the issue, most social scientists agree that, even today, Black Americans face many disadvantages that White Americans do not. Below is a list of Black Disadvantages compiled from sociological, psychological, and economic research.

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 7. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 7 (*completely agree*)

1. When told of America's national heritage, the contributions of Black Americans are frequently left out.
2. Black Americans cannot participate in most organizations without feeling isolated, out of place, outnumbered, or feared.
3. The national media do not encourage Black Americans to feel proud of their race.
4. Black Americans are seen as an unimpressive race in American Culture.
5. It is difficult for Black Americans to arrange to be in the company of other Black Americans most of the time.
6. Black Americans often turn on their television or open a newspaper and see people of their race being negatively represented.
7. It takes considerable effort for Black Americans to buy a variety of consumer products that feature people of their own race.
8. It is difficult for Black Americans to find academic institutions that do not give attention almost exclusively to people of a different race than their own.
9. Black Americans often have difficulty renting or purchasing housing, even in areas where they can afford to live.
10. Black Americans cannot go shopping alone without worry of being followed or harassed because of their race.
11. Black Americans cannot be confident that if they move to a new neighborhood of their choice, their neighbors will respect their race.
12. If Black Americans get pulled over by a police officer, they cannot be confident they haven't been singled out because of their race.
13. When considering many different life choices, Black Americans must question whether a person of their race would be allowed to do what they want to do.

14. Whether using checks or credit cards, Black Americans' skin color often works against their appearance of financial reliability.
15. Black Americans cannot be confident that if they need legal or medical help, their race will not work against them.
16. Black Americans can't be sure that being Black won't work against them in employment interviews and job appraisals.
17. Black Americans cannot receive positive treatment from Whites without considering that the positive treatment is designed to cover up the White's racism.
18. When something bad happens to a Black American, they generally need to question whether their race had anything to do with it.
19. Black Americans have to think about their race even if they don't want to.
20. In most situations, Black Americans do not have the option to think about themselves as "just a person" rather than as a member of their race.
21. Black Americans cannot do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to their race.
22. Black Americans are frequently asked to speak for all persons of their race.
23. Black Americans cannot be concerned about racism without being seen as self-interested.
24. Black Americans cannot accept a job with an affirmative action employer without having their co-workers suspect they got the job because of their race.

Study 4: Timeline

Total Time: 60 minutes

00:00 - 05:00	Participants arrive, get seated, review informed consent
05:00 - 09:00	Pre-measures (19 items)
09:00 - 12:00	Self-compassion or time-filler exercise
12:00 - 14:30	White privilege script
14:30 - 23:00	White privilege video screening
23:00 - 26:00	Self-compassion or time-filler exercise
26:00 - 52:00	Post-measures (83 items plus 2 free-response items)
52:00 - 60:00	Debrief (including video clip)

Study 4: Self-compassion Exercise

Before presentation:
Before we begin the presentation, I would like to take a moment to complete a brief exercise to help us to be fully present. First, please sit in your chair so that your back is flat against the back of your seat. Close your eyes. Place your palms comfortably on your lap, palms up or palms down, whatever feels comfortable to you. Feel your feet connected to the ground, from your toes to your heels. As you breathe in, feel your lungs expanding from the top of your chest to your belly. As you breathe out, feel the air leaving your lungs from your belly back up to your chest. On your next few breaths, concentrate on lengthening your inhales and exhales and feel the air enter your lungs fully, and then leave your lungs fully. Take a few moments to breathe in and out this way, focusing on the sensations in your body.

(Wait 30 seconds.)

If you are ready, open your eyes. The topics we are going to cover in this presentation may bring up a number of thoughts and emotions. I ask that as we cover this material, you are not too hard on yourself. For many White people, thinking about White privilege is not comfortable or easy. It is normal to experience some negative thoughts or emotions when talking or thinking about these issues. As we go through the presentation, please try to treat yourself kindly. If you begin to feel uncomfortable, come back to your breath and the sensations in your body. Remember that it is normal to experience some negative thoughts or emotions in response to this material. If those thoughts or feelings come up, do your best to pay attention to them and then to set them aside, and to stay focused on the present moment. Let's begin.

After presentation:
Before we continue with the study, I would like to take a moment to let this material sink it. Please find the posture you found before: sit in your chair with your back flat against the back of your seat and close your eyes. Feel your feet connect to the ground, and place your palms comfortably in your lap. Feel your breath move through your body as you slowly inhale and exhale. Feel the air in your lungs expand and empty with each inhale and exhale.

The material in this presentation may have brought up some uncomfortable thoughts or emotions. Remember that these reactions are normal, and please don't be too hard on yourself. Take a moment to think about the reactions that this material brought up for you, and as you do, remember to treat yourself kindly. As you think about your response to the material in this presentation, continue to pay attention to your breath on each inhale and exhale.

(Wait 30 seconds.)

Study 4: Time-filler Script

Before presentation:
Before we begin the presentation, I would like to take a moment to tell you what to expect. This information was also on your consent forms and covered at the beginning of the study, but we like to make sure that participants thoroughly understand this information. We will begin the presentation with a brief introduction to some of the concepts that will be covered. After this, we will show a video, which will last approximately eight minutes. Following the video, we will ask you to complete the remainder of your survey packets. Remember, please do not complete any of the survey packet before the video is over. Keep your packet turned to the blank page that separates the measures from the first half of the study from the measures from the second half of the study. Before we continue, I want to take some time to have you look over your consent forms again to see if any new questions come up.

(Wait 30 seconds.)

Does anyone have any new questions that haven't been answered? (Answer any questions.) As a reminder, the material we will be covering today deals with the topic of White privilege. First, we will define White privilege, so that everyone has a basic understanding of what this concept means. Then we will watch a video on White privilege. Finally, we will complete the remainder of the survey measures. Let's begin.

After presentation:
Before we continue on to the survey measures, I would like to take a moment to talk about the material we just covered. The video and the information at the beginning of the presentation dealt with the topic of White privilege. We learned about White privilege from a number of different speakers. We will complete the remaining surveys in a moment, but first, I would like to take some time for you to think about the material that was covered in this presentation.

(Wait 30 seconds).

Study 4: White Privilege Script

The material in this presentation is on the topic of White privilege. Before we begin, I want to make sure that we all have a shared understanding of what the concept of White privilege means. In order to talk about White privilege, we have to talk about racial inequality first. Our belief system in America says that people who work hard get ahead, and that everyone has an equal chance to do this. However, social scientists have found that we do not all start from an equal playing field, and that social systems make it easier for some people to get ahead than it is for other people to get ahead. The concept of White privilege comes from the idea that being White results in a number of advantages that are not available to people of color. White privilege does not mean that White people have to ask for these advantages. They are simply given to us on the basis of our skin color.

Here are some examples of White privilege in daily life (Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005).

1. When told of America's national heritage, White Americans are shown that their racial group made it what it is.
2. White Americans can turn on the television or open a newspaper and see people of their race being positively represented.
3. White Americans can easily buy a variety of consumer products that feature people of their own race.
4. White Americans can go shopping alone without worry of being followed or harassed because of their race.
5. If White Americans get pulled over by a police officer, they can be confident they haven't been singled out because of their race.
6. Whether using checks or credit cards, White Americans can count on their skin color not to work against their appearance of financial reliability.
7. White Americans can count on their race being a positive factor in employment interviews and job appraisals.
8. In most situations, White Americans have the option to think about themselves as "just a person" rather than as a member of their race.
9. White Americans can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to their race.
10. White Americans are not asked to speak for all persons of their race.

Study 4: Video Clip Selections

Butler, S. (Producer/Director). (2012). *Cracking the codes: The system of racial inequity* [DVD]. United States: World Trust Educational Services, Inc.

Video clips included in Study 4 are indicated in **bold**.

Introduction	
00:00-00:48	**Overview of model of racial inequity**
00:48-1:27	**Title**
1:27-2:33	Spoken word poem on facts
History	
2:33-2:45	Title
2:45-3:56	Puerto Rico
3:56-5:14	Ghana
5:14-6:00	Hawaii
6:00-6:56	Not getting the truth in history class
6:56-7:42	Aboriginal peoples
7:42-8:30	White man talks about relearning history/things he didn't know
8:30-8:48	Closure on history, chimes
Identity and Culture	
8:48-9:00	Title
9:00-9:50	Spoken word
9:50-10:40	Rejecting Southeast Asian culture, wanting to be White
10:40-11:36	Peggy McIntosh, a White woman, on the lines that demarcate "good"
11:37-12:04	Indian people
12:05-13:30	Multiracial man talks about not knowing his blackness growing up
13:30-14:40	Black Columbian woman talks about having White adoptive parents
14:40-15:00	Passing as multiple identities
15:00-16:18	Multiracial folks across international boundaries, complex identity
Bias	
16:18-16:30	Title
16:30-16:46	What is Whiteness?
16:46-18:18	Seeing Whiteness as normal
18:18-19:23	**Tim Wise, a White man, on implicit associations between Black folks and negativity**
19:23-21:16	African-American woman talks about her White husband's fear about their multiracial boy defending himself physically
Privilege	
21:16-21:30	Title

21:30-21:55	What it means to be White, giving advice
21:55-23:32	**African-American woman explaining oppressiveness of White women's actions, includes interpretive dance, internalized White superiority**
23:32-25:43	Peggy McIntosh, a White woman, on the teaching necessary to get White women past a place of paralysis and guilt/shame and myth of meritocracy
25:43-26:20	**Tim Wise, a White man, on hard work and opportunity structure**
26:20-28:15	African-American woman speaks about the greater ease with which we acknowledge disadvantages than advantages
28:15-31:55	Joy DeGruy, an African-American woman, tells a story about White privilege in the grocery store (closing clip for debriefing)

Internalized Racism

31:55-32:20	Title
32:20-34:08	Dissatisfaction with dark skin/colorism
34:08-35:13	Story about father being upset by his darkness as a child
35:13-36:03	Story about grandmother not letting dark-skinned friend in the house
36:03-36:35	Story about serving a White woman first
36:35-37:38	African-American man tells story about distancing himself from the only other African-American boy in his class
37:38-38:46	Story about White colleague not being challenged as much as she was when they co-taught a class
38:46-32:30	Joy DeGruy, an African-American woman, talks about post-traumatic slave syndrome

Interpersonal

42:30-42:40	Title
42:40-43:00	Spoken word
43:00-45:00	African-American woman tells story about interaction with a woman at a Chinese restaurant
45:00-45:56	9/11 and Muslims in the United States
45:56-48:02	Tim Wise, a White man, talks about White folks' dependence on media representations of people of color
48:02-49:35	African-American woman tells story about shaming in sociology class
49:35-50:53	Rinku Sen, an Indian-American woman, talks about how we make decisions about people's behavior and how we will respond/young Black girl arrested

Institutional

50:53-51:10	Title
51:10-52:10	Spoken word on written and unwritten rules
52:10-53:00	White woman talks about how teachers interpret hyperactive behavior of White vs. Black boys
53:00-55:31	Multiracial man talks about high school experiences

55:31-56:54	Spoken word on discrimination
56:54-59:09	**Tim Wise, a White man, talks about law enforcement and racial profiling**
59:09-1:00:50	Rinku Sen, an Indian-American woman, talks about the housing crisis and racist loans

Structural

1:00:50-1:01:15	Title
1:01:15-1:01:42	Idea of postraciality, often talk on interpersonal level
1:01:42-1:02:38	People who make decisions don't represent communities
1:02:38-1:03:17	Rinku Sen, an Indian-American woman, talks about the relationship between systems (i.e., housing and schools)
1:03:17-1:05:57	Multiracial community, quality education
1:04:57-1:07:00	Structural racism and history, White man talks about his ancestors, color-blind racial attitudes upholding racism
1:07:00-1:07:25	Systems of power
1:07:25-1:08:22	Snowball effect of not being able to find housing and employment leading to criminality
1:08:22-1:09:05	**Diagram of system of racial inequality**
1:09:05-1:09:45	**Closing comments**

Choosing to Heal

1:09:45-1:09:55	Title
1:09:55-1:14:18	Joy DeGruy tells story about talking with father after King Kong movie

Total Selection Time: 8:24

Study 4: Debriefing Script

Thank you for your participation in this study. Our goal is to learn more about how White people respond to thinking about White privilege. Past research has found that White people have a number of different responses to thinking about White privilege, including feelings of defensiveness, anger, sadness, curiosity, openness, and empathy. We are looking at the guilt and shame that White people might experience when they think about White privilege. We are hoping that what we learn will help us to develop teaching strategies for educators who teach about concepts involving White privilege. Our goal is to help these educators to create a supportive and productive classroom environment.

To work towards this goal, in this study we are looking at the impact of a self-compassion exercise on White people's responses to classroom material about White privilege. Your group was in the (self-compassion condition/time-filler condition). We think that the self-compassion exercise might help White people to have more positive emotional responses to material about White privilege.

I want to emphasize that White people have a range of responses when they think about White privilege, and that it is normal to have strong, sometimes negative, emotional responses to this material. Thinking about White privilege can be difficult. As I hope the presentation conveyed, White privilege is the result of systems of inequality, and this material is not intended to be an attack on individuals' character.

As part of the debriefing of this study, I would like to show you one final video clip that discusses some of the positive ways that White privilege can be used to work towards social justice. (Screen Joy DeGruy video clip: 3:50)

If you would like to talk more about your reactions to the content of the study or would like more information on White privilege and ways that you can work towards racial justice, there are several options. I will stay after the study and am happy to answer any questions or discuss any reactions you might have. We also have informational sheets on White privilege and common responses to White privilege available if you would like to pick one up on your way out. These sheets also include my contact information and the contact information for Dr. Todd, who is the professor supervising this research. Please feel free to contact either of us with any questions or concerns you may have.

Thank you again for participating. If you did not sign in with your ID number at the beginning of the study, please make sure to do so on your way out.

Predictor: White Privilege Awareness

(Pinterits, Poteat, & Spanierman, 2009) (α = .84)

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 6. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Six-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*)

1. "Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called White privilege is really White-bashing." (R)
2. "White people have it easier than people of color."
3. "Our social structure system promotes White privilege."
4. "Plenty of people of color are more privileged than Whites." (R)

Mediator: White Guilt

(Based on Brown et al., 2008; Study 3) ($\alpha = .93$)

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 5. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree*)

1. I feel guilty for the manner in which African-Americans have been treated in the past by White Americans.
2. When I think how White Americans have enslaved African Americans, I feel guilty.
3. I feel very bad when I realize that we the White Americans have contributed to the loss of African American language and customs.
4. Sometimes I feel guilty for the things that White Americans have done to African Americans.
5. When I think what White Americans have done to African Americans, I feel guilty.
6. Even if I have done nothing bad, I feel guilty for the behavior of White Americans toward African Americans.
7. I feel guilty for the bad living conditions of African Americans.
8. To think how we White Americans show intolerance, by refusing to offer job contracts to African Americans, makes me feel guilty.

Mediator: White Shame

(Based on Brown et al., 2008; Study 3) ($\alpha = .93$)

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 5. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree*)

1. I feel bad because the behavior of White Americans towards African Americans has created a bad image in the eyes of the world.
2. I feel bad when I see an international report on the treatment received by African Americans on the part of White Americans.
3. Sometimes it shames me what other can think of the manner in which we have harmed African Americans.
4. To think how the United States is seen for its treatment of African Americans makes me feel ashamed.
5. I feel humiliated when I think of the negative manner that the United States is seen by the rest of the world for how it has treated African Americans.
6. I feel shame when I think how White Americans have behaved towards African Americans.
7. I feel ashamed to be a White American for the way we have treated African Americans.
8. I feel ashamed for the damage done to African Americans by White Americans.
9. I feel ashamed for the racist tendency of White Americans.
10. It shames me when I realize that White Americans could be intolerant by nature.

Outcome: Behavioral Intentions

Factor 1: Willingness to Confront White Privilege

(Pinterits, Poteat, & Spanierman, 2009) ($\alpha = .95$)

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 6. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Six-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*)

1. "I intend to work toward dismantling White privilege."
2. "I want to begin the process of eliminating White privilege."
3. "I take action to dismantle White privilege."
4. "I have not done anything about White privilege." (R)
5. "I plan to work to change our unfair social structure that promotes White privilege."
6. "I'm glad to explore my White privilege."
7. "I accept responsibility to change White privilege."
8. "I look forward to creating a more racially equitable society."
9. "I take action against White privilege with people I know."
10. "I am eager to find out more about letting go of White privilege."
11. "I don't care to explore how I supposedly have unearned benefits from being White." (R)
12. "I am curious about how to communicate effectively to break down White privilege."

Factor 2: Willingness to self-educate about White privilege

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 6. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Six-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 6 (*very likely*)

In the future, how likely are you to engage in the following activities:

1. Read a book that discusses White privilege
2. Watch a movie that addresses White privilege
3. Search for information about White privilege on the internet
4. Read a newspaper or magazine article about White privilege
5. Search for video clips about White privilege on the internet

If you would like us to send you some information on White privilege, please enter your email address into the box below:

Factor 3: Willingness to discuss White privilege

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 6. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Six-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 6 (*very likely*)

In the future, how likely are you to engage in the following activities:

1. Discuss White privilege with a friend
2. Discuss White privilege with a classmate
3. Discuss White privilege with a family member
4. Discuss White privilege with a partner/significant other
5. Discuss White privilege with a co-worker

Factor 4: Willingness to take courses involving White privilege

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 6. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Six-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 6 (*very likely*)

In the future, how likely are you to engage in the following activities:

1. Take a course that includes material about White privilege
2. Sign up for a workshop on White privilege
3. Attend an event that deals with White privilege
4. Participate in a discussion group on White privilege
5. Attend a lecture about White privilege

Outcome: Racial Attitudes

Factor 1: Racism

(Adapted from Modern Sexism Scale, Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005) (α = .76)
(Modern Sexism Scale: Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995)

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 7. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*)

1. "On average, people in our society treat White Americans and Black Americans equally."
2. "Society has reached a point where Black and White Americans have equal opportunities for achievement."
3. "It is easy to understand the anger of Black Americans in America." (R)
4. "It is easy to see why Black groups are still concerned about societal limitations of Black Americans' opportunities." (R)
5. "The government and news media tend to pay too much concern about the treatment of Black Americans."

Factor 2: Image Threat

(Based on Brown et al., 2008) (α = .75)

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 5. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree*)

1. I consider that our image as Americans has been negatively affected by the way we have addressed African American issues.
2. Sometimes I believe that the United States has lost respect for the way it has dealt with African American issues.
3. Due to the way we have addressed African American issues, I believe that now people judge Americans differently.

Factor 3: Support for Affirmative Action

(Swim & Miller, 1999) ($\alpha = .75$)

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 5. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*)

1. "A certain quota of Blacks, even if not all of them are fully qualified, should be admitted to colleges and universities."
2. "If I were an employer, and two equally qualified applicants, one Black and one White, applied for the same job, I would be more likely to hire the Black applicant."
3. "Blacks should receive racial entitlement such as affirmative action and other forms of compensation due to the past injustices of White America."
4. "To compensate for racial injustices, I feel that universities should create special entitlement for Black students including Black 'theme' dorms or Black student unions."
5. "After years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that Blacks are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment and education."
6. "Blacks have to learn they are entitled to no special consideration and must make it strictly on merit." (R)
7. "Once affirmative action programs for Blacks are started, the result is bound to be reverse discrimination against White men." (R)
8. "If there are not affirmative action programs helping Blacks in employment and education, then they will continue to fail to get their share of jobs and higher education, thereby continuing past discrimination in the future."

Outcome: Race-Related Affect

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 6. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Six-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*)

Right now, I am feeling:

1. Angry that I am being asked about White privilege (D)
2. Saddened by how White privilege has corrupted me (D)
3. Frustrated by all of these questions about White privilege (D)
4. Disgusted with myself for having White privilege (D)
5. Outraged by this focus on White privilege (D)
6. Hopeful about the possibility for racial justice (R)
7. Curious about White privilege (R)
8. Eager to do something about White privilege (R)
9. Excited to learn more about White privilege (R)
10. Angry that White privilege exists (R)

Subscale Key: R = receptive race-related affect; D = defensive race-related affect

Self-Compassion

(SCS-SF, Raes, Pommier, Neff, & Van Gucht, 2011) ($\alpha \geq .86$)

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 6. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost always*)

1. "When I fail at something important to me I become consumed by feelings of inadequacy." (OI)
2. "I try to be understanding and patient towards those aspects of my personality I don't like." (SK)
3. "When something painful happens I try to take a balanced view of the situation." (M)
4. "When I'm feeling down, I tend to feel like most other people are probably happier than I am." (I)
5. "I try to see my failings as part of the human condition." (CH)
6. "When I'm going through a very hard time, I give myself the caring and tenderness I need." (SK)
7. "When something upsets me, I try to keep my emotions in balance." (M)
8. "When I fail at something that's important to me, I tend to feel alone in my failure." (I)
9. "When I'm feeling down I tend to obsess and fixate on everything that's wrong." (OI)
10. "When I feel inadequate in some way, I try to remind myself that feelings of inadequacy are shared by most people." (CH)
11. "I'm disapproving and judgmental about my own flaws and inadequacies." (SJ)
12. "I'm intolerant and impatient towards those aspects of my personality I don't like." (SJ)

Subscale Key: OI = Over-identification; SK = Self-kindness; M = Mindfulness; I = Isolation; CH = Common humanity; SJ = Self-judgment

Ingroup Identification

(Branscombe et al., 2007) ($\alpha = .83$)

Directions: Please respond to the following statements using the scale provided. Your possible choices range from 1 to 7. Please answer honestly, as there are no right or wrong answers.

Seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*)

1. "I am comfortable being White."
2. "Being White just feels natural to me."
3. "I believe that White people have a lot to be proud of."
4. "I feel good about being White."
5. "I am not embarrassed to admit that I am White."

Demographics

General Information

1. Age
2. Race/ethnicity
3. Gender
4. Religion
5. Family income
6. GPA

Political Orientation

1. "Politically, I would say I am…" on a 1 (*very conservative*) to 6 (*very liberal*) scale

Prior Diversity Experience

1. Have you taken a class or workshop in which White privilege was discussed? 0 (*no*) 1 (*yes*)
2. How many diversity classes or workshops have you taken? 1 (*none*) 2 (*very little*) 3 (*some*) 4 (*extensive diversity education*)
3. How would you rate your exposure to people of other races? 1 (*no exposure*) 2 (*small amount*) 3 (*moderate amount*) 4 (*a high amount of exposure*)

General Free Response Questions

1. People have many different reactions to the content of this study. We are always looking for ways that we can improve this study for future participants and are curious about your response to the study. Please write a brief paragraph about your experience with the content of this study in the box below.
2. (Study 3): We may conduct a follow-up to this study. Participants in the follow-up study would be asked to answer some questions similar to the ones you answered today. The follow-up study would be conducted online. People who choose to participate in the follow-up study would be entered into a drawing for iTunes or amazon.com gift cards. If you would like to be contacted about the follow-up study, please enter your email address into the box below.